

Vol. VIII No. 2 June 1981 (Ashad 2038)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES



Journal of the
Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Nepal

CNAS

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Country	Nepal	India, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Burma	Other countries
Single Copy	Rs. 30.00	I.C. Rs. 25.00	US \$ 8.00
One Year	Rs. 60.00	I.C. Rs. 50.00	US \$ 16.00
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contributions to nepalese studies

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Newari Language and Linguistics: Conspectus

Tej R. Kansakar*

1. The Language and the Area

1.1 Name of the Language: Newari is one of four Tibeto-Burman languages with an old written tradition (the other three being Tibetan, Burmese and Manipuri) and the only member of the Himalayan group with such a tradition. The most common name for the language in linguistic literature is Nevari or Newari, but indigenous publications by Newari writers consistently refer to it as 'Nepāl Bhāsā'.¹ In colloquial term the language is simply known as Newā Bhāe (the Newā language) by the majority of native speakers.

1.2 Distribution of speakers: Newari speakers are concentrated in the Kathmandu Valley, with a few settlements in trading centres outside the valley. On the basis of the Nepal Census Reports of 1952/54 and 1961, Gopal Singh Nepali (*The Newars*, Bombay 1965: 19-20) and Dor Bahadur Bista (*People of Nepal*, Kathmandu 1967: 16) report a total of nearly 400,000 Newari speakers, of which fifty-five percent are living in Kathmandu Valley. Newari speakers living outside Nepal are to be found mainly in the Darjeeling District and Sikkim of India, Bhutan and Tibet where their speech forms have been increasingly influenced by language contact situations. No reliable data however are available to date on the migrating Newar population. The Nepal Census Report of 1971 places the number of native speakers of Newari living in Nepal at 457,949 which is roughly 4% of the total population of the country.

2. Classical Newari

The term 'classical Newari' was first used by Jorgensen (1936) in which he stated, "The language I call classical Newari, is the language of the MSS". This definition is seriously limited as it excludes the earlier history of written Newari which appears in stone or metal inscriptions, land grants or legal documents (tamsuk-s) written on palm-leaves, and other miscellaneous media written on paper. The role of classical Newari in the documentation of the history of the Nepal Valley

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is obviously an important one, and the classical period as such extends from Nepal Samvat (N.S.) 293 (A.D. 1173) the first attested use of Newari in an inscription (Tamot, N.S. 1097/1977), to the early part of this century. The work of Vajracharya (B.S. 2030/1973) however reveals a variety of Newari nominals found in Licchavi inscriptions (ca. 350 to 750 A.D.). On the basis of the Licchavi epigraphy, Tamot (N.S. 1100/1980) attempted an enumeration of the non-Sanskrit words, and Malla (1981:17) postulates that "the source language of most of these nominals is proto-Newari". Although the evidence may not be fully conclusive, the materials brought to light seem to indicate the antiquity of the language that dates back to pre-Aryan sources, and certainly beyond the beginning of a written tradition. From early 14th century to the entrance of the Shaha dynasty, many historical documents (such as inscriptions, vamsavali-s, thyasaphu-s etc.), technical manuscripts (on medicine, astronomy/astrology) and innumerable narrative texts (including religious and philosophical tantra-s) were written in classical Newari. Among these the bi-lingual Hitopadesa (N.S. 481/A.D. 1361 ?)², the two Amrakosa-s (N.S. 501/506: A.D. 1381/1386) and Gopalrājavamsāvali (N.S. 507-510/A.D. 1387-1390) are linguistically the most important.

Manuscripts continued to be written by hand in the Nepal script (Bhujimol, Pracalit or Ranjana scripts) until the advent of printing in the Kathmandu Valley around the beginning of this century. These texts are historically and linguistically important, and classical Newari is obviously an essential tool in the study of the development of the Tibeto-Burman languages in general and the Himalayan languages in particular.

3. Contemporary Newari

The most striking development in the history of modern Newari can be seen in the morphological structure of words. There is copious evidence to show that there has been systematic simplification in the morpheme structure and syllable structure of nominals and verbal roots in contemporary Newari. The older Newari forms in general had complex syllable structure consisting of monosyllabic roots and affixes (prefixes and suffixes) which according to Benedict (1972:96) characterize Tibeto-Burman morphology of antiquity. Shafer (1966:11) is also of the opinion that "Sino-Tibetan languages that have disyllabic and even trisyllabic words represent the primitive condition, the present monosyllabism being due to degeneration." The morphological analysis of Malla (1981:12-16) can be cited to show the changes in the structural elements of words:

<u>Ancient</u>	<u>Modern Newari</u>
(mā) kho-prin	kho-pa
mhas-prin	mhya-pi
pran-prin	pham-pi
khai-naṣ-pu	khad-pu
būgāyūmi	buṅga
lembati	lele
gullamtam	guita
satvaumalambā	satuṅgal/balambu
jamayambi	jamal
kicapricin	kisipidi
tuncatcatu	capali

The motivations for these changes are far from clear, e.g. why did -prin in kho-prin and mhas-prin evolve into -pa in one case and -pi in the other? Malla (17) takes the view that "these changes appear to be different depending perhaps upon dialectal, regional, social-cultural, and language-contact factors". While these resulted in the loss of consonants and consonant-clusters, the basic formations of stems and affixes (e.g. then-co, san-ko, kopun-dul, te-khum, te-gval, etc.) as found in ancient epigraphy are still used in present day Newari in the same sense. The loss of syllabification noted above may also be related to the process of stem variation in Newari nouns. For historical reasons a large number of nouns in Newari have lost their stem-final syllables, which however are still retained in the oblique case forms of these nouns. These alternations can be seen in the following examples:

/la:/ 'water'	-	/lakha-e/	[l ^ə .khE:]	'in the water'
/phae/ 'wind'	-	/phasā-ā/	[ph ^ə .s ^ā :]	'by/from the wind'
/pwā:/ 'stomach'	-	/pwātha-e/	[pwa.thE:]	'in the stomach'
/bhoe/ 'feast'	-	/bhoja-e/	[b ^w o.dzE:]	'at the feast'
/koe:/ 'bone'	-	/kōca-e/	[k ^w ō.tsE:]	'in the bone'

where the hyphen stands for the morpheme break and the dot for the syllable break.

When the lost stem-final syllables re-appear in locative/ablative formations, we can assume that the final syllables -kha, -sa, -ha, -ja, -ca in the above examples belong to the old stems

rather than the suffixes. This interpretation simplifies the morphological analysis of words and the segmentation of morphemes into phonological syllables. Contemporary Newari in this sense could be viewed as a language with the preferred syllable structure of CV, CCV or CVV, and where, as in the case of stem variation, the constraints on syllabically motivated processes are related to morpho-syntactic constructions in a formal way.³

Another important aspect that characterizes modern Newari is the large-scale intrusion of words and expressions from Indo-Aryan languages and to some extent from English. While this is not a new phenomenon, and contact with Indo-Aryan languages has a long history, the extent and rate of such borrowings have reached such proportions as to render the language of the fashionable generation almost unintelligible to more conservative speakers. The influx of Sanskritized Nepali or Hindi on the other has had, as some see it, an adverse effect on the use of the language. Although borrowings are not unnatural in language-contact situations, there is today a tendency to revive, at least in writing, the native stock of words that has gone out of use under the impact of external influences.

Another communicative problem is perhaps internal to the language itself, namely the existence of widely divergent dialect groups divided by geographical distance and lack of socio-cultural interaction. There are for example several distinct dialects of Newari within Kathmandu Valley, but the channels of communication are not ideal. The problem becomes more acute when one encounters the primitive state of the language in the Dolakha dialect where intelligibility tends to be lost almost in toto. The dialect of Kathmandu proper, however, is generally recognized as the standard form in speech and writing. The Kathmandu dialect in this sense could be regarded as the norm in which a large bulk of published materials, some linguistic descriptions and a few Dictionaries are available.

4. Review of Earlier Works on Newari

According to Hale and Hale (1969:3) "most of what has been written about Newari is ancillary to anthropological studies, supportive of classificatory studies, or relevant primarily to the history of the language." They go on to cite the works of numerous scholars like Conrady (1891, 1893), Hodgson (1828, 1847), Jørgensen (1921, 1928, 1936a, 1936b, 1941), Shafer (1952), Joshi (1956), Sagar (1962), to name only a few, who have produced dictionaries and attempted various grammatical analyses of the language. In Grierson's (1909) Linguistic Survey of India 3:1, Newari was also one of the languages surveyed and partially

analysed. Shafer (1955, 1966-67) attempted a classification of Sino-Tibetan languages with particular reference to Newari. Apart from the earlier compilations of word lists of Newari by Kirkpatrick (1811:220-249), Hodgson (1874:3-8), Wright (1877:300-305) and Conrady (1891:1-35; 1893:539-573), the most valuable single contribution to the lexicography of classical Newari is Hans Jørgensen's 6000-word Dictionary of the Classical Newari (1936) which, although not comprehensive, covers the late Malla period as found in narrative texts. This was followed in 1941 by A Grammar of the Classical Newari which represents a historical treatment of the language.

Hale and Hale in (1969:4) noted that "most of the materials relevant to the descriptive, synchronic analysis of Newari of which we have knowledge are at present unpublished." In this connection they refer to scholars such as R.K. Sprigg, J. Brough and T.W. Clark, who are understood to have extensive unpublished materials at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. There are also other scholars like Boyd Michailovsky, A. Peter Burleigh, E.H. Bendix and R.R. Howren who have private unpublished collections of materials on Newari, but of which we have no detailed information.

Bharati V. Modi (1967) has given a phonemic analysis of Newari, purportedly from the point of view of Zellig Harris' structural approach to phonology. This is certainly one of the earliest works on Newari phonology, and was at the time the only published phonemic statement of the language.

Edward H. Bendix (1974) has published material which rests upon an interesting implicit analysis of the relationship between the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman language families in terms of Nepali and Newari tense systems. Margrit and Austin Hale (1969) have published a phonemic summary which is actually more nearly morpho-phonemic than phonemic. Austin Hale has also produced a wide range of materials on Newari phonology and syntax, notably Hale (1970a,b,c) on segmental and textual structures; Hale (1973) on the form of verbal bases in Newari; and Hale (1980) on Finite Conjunct and Disjunct verb forms, which constitutes one of his most important contributions to the study of Newari syntax. Hale has also played an active role in various collaborative projects such as Hale and Hale (1970), a computerized compilation of Newari Concordance; Shresthacharya, Maskey and Hale (1971) on conversational materials; Hale and Manandhar (1973) on Case and Role in Newari; Friedman, Kansakar, Tuladhar and Hale (1975) on the variants of Newari vowels; Hale and Watters (1973) on clause patterns; and the preparation of a comprehensive Dictionary of contemporary Newari compiled with Thakurlal Manandhar (in press). Iswaranand Shresthacharya has published materials

on Newari lexicography and grammar particularly on areas of syntax (nouns and verbs), research work on Jyāpu vocabulary, and co-authored papers, namely Shresthacharya and Hale (1972) on Roman Newari orthography; Hale and Shresthacharya (1973) on Newari as a Classifier Language; and Shresthacharya (1976) on the redpublication in Newari verb phrase. Shresthacharya has also recently published a book on the Newari Root Verbs.

Mantaro J. Hashimoto has undertaken preliminary research work on Newari dialects, and recently published a classified lexicon of the Bhaktapur dialect, Hashimoto (1977). Margaret Langdon attempted a phonemic analysis of Newari as part of a field methods course under the guidance of Mary Haas, University of California, Berkeley.

Ulrike Kolver's Ph.D. dissertation on "Newari Sentence Structure" completed under the supervision of Prof. Hansjakob Seiler and material help from Austin Hale, was accepted by Cologne University in 1975. Bernhard Kolver and Ulrike Kolver have also published a few notable papers on Newari syntax, namely Kolver and Kolver (1975) on Newari noun inflection; Ulrike Kolver (1977) on nominalization and lexicalization in Modern Newari; Ulrike Kolver (1978) on Newari noun phrases; and Kolver and Kolver (1978) on Classical Newari Verb Morphology. K.P. Malla has published papers on the antiquity and history of the language, namely Malla (B.S. 2028/1971, 1973, 1980a, 1980b, 1981), and has recently published a book on Classical Newari Literature. Malla has also in manuscript form a Reference Grammar of Contemporary Newari, due to be published soon.

Kashinath Tamot has contributed several papers on the lexicography and etymological studies of the language, namely Tamot (1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1979, 1980, 1981). Hemraj Shakya has produced standard reference works on the old Newari scripts, Shakya (1952, 1973). Kansakar (1977, 1979, 1980, 1981a,b, 1982) represent some recent works on Newari phonology.

5. Genetic Classification

The classification of Tibeto-Burman languages and the placement of Newari among them, has been a matter of some controversy. Scholars and linguists who have treated the problem include Hodgson (1828), Sten Konow (1909), Shafer (1952, 1955, 1966), Voegelin and Voegelin (1964/65), Glover (1970) and Benedict (1972).

The earliest statement on the genetic affiliation of Newari was made by Hodgson (1828) who made a systematic comparison of the core vocabulary of Newari and Tibetan, and concluded that

"the root and stock of Newari are trans-Himalayan and northern...". This conclusion was presumably based on the shared phonological and morphological correspondences, as distinct from Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan lingua-francas. Hodgson however did not elaborate on the possible sub-grouping of languages within the Sino-Tibetan family. Grierson (1909: Vol. 3, Part I) which represents the work of August Conrady and Sten Konow, assigns Newari to the non-pronominalized group of the Himalayan languages, along with Gurung, Tamang, Sunwar and Magar. In this classification (see Figure 1) the language most closely related to Newari is Pahari, though by some standards it might be considered a dialect of Newari. By the time of this classification, the family relation of Newari with Sino-Tibetan had been established beyond dispute.

TIBETO - BURMAN

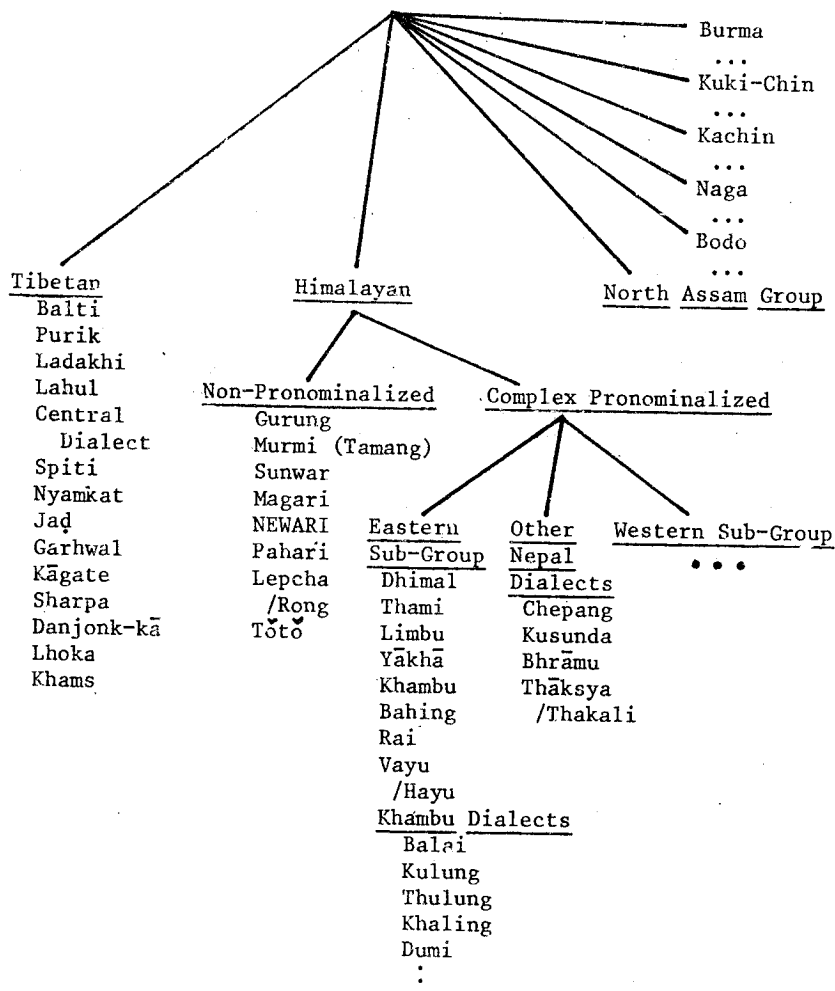


Fig. 1: Genetic classification of Tibeto-Burman languages, according to Grierson (1909).

Shafer (1955) places both Newari and Pahari within the Newarish section of the Bodic Division of Sino-Tibetan. Later in (1966) Shafer leaves the divisional classification of the Newarish section uncertain ('probably sections of Bodic, possibly of Burmic, certainly not of Baric'). This situation may be related to Shafer's earlier paper on Newari in which he concluded that "the loss of nearly all traces of (archaic Tibeto-Burman) prefixes and of many final consonants connects Newari with the languages to the north (Tibet) and to the east (Burma and the Indo-Burmese frontier) rather than with the Tibeto-Burmic languages of Assam" (Shafer 1952:93).⁴ Shafer's (1966) classification, as shown in Figure 2, shows Newari to be relatively distant from the other languages in the Bodish and Himalayish sections of the Bodic Division.

C.F. and F.M. Voegelin (1964/65) on the other hand, classify Newari and Pahari together with Gurung and Tamang as members of the non-pronominalized sub-group of the Gyarung-Mishmi family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. The classificatory terms used by them suggests a geographical division of languages in which the linguistic distance between two speech forms is proportionate to the geographical distance. They maintain that

The family tree model is more appropriate for the different language families in the Sino-Tibetan phylum than for the phylum itself ... We avoid the controversy by giving exclusive attention to the languages spoken today in each of the constituent language families.

(Voegelin and Voegelin 6:3, 8-9)

The model proposed by Voegelin and Voegelin is shown in Fig. 3.

The computations of cognate groupings for thirty Tibeto-Burman languages by Glover (1970) seem to confirm Shafer's placement of Newari among the Himalayish languages. Glover arrived at a genetic classification on the basis of the percentage of semantic and phonetic cognates shared by two or more diverging languages. Figure 4 based on Glover (1970) shows the percentage of probable cognates, and the dates represent the time depths of separation calculated from the respective percentage figures. In this classification, Newari is closer to Chepang (with 28 percent shared cognates) than to any other language.

The grouping of languages by Shafer and Glover can be compared with the results of Benedict's (1972) work which, while covering the same ground as Shafer, incorporates fresh supporting

criteria for the divergence of languages. Benedict, working primarily on the basis of phonological correspondences, introduces the seven principal Divisions or Nuclei of Tibeto-Burman and indicates the direction of divergence from a common nucleus. In this organization, Newari is shown as belonging possibly to the Kiranti Nucleus from which it has diverged to a considerable extent. In this scheme of classification, summarized here in Fig. 5, the relationship between the Bodish Group of the Tibetan nucleus and the Kiranti languages is quite explicit, while Newari seems to have developed independently from the Kiranti source.

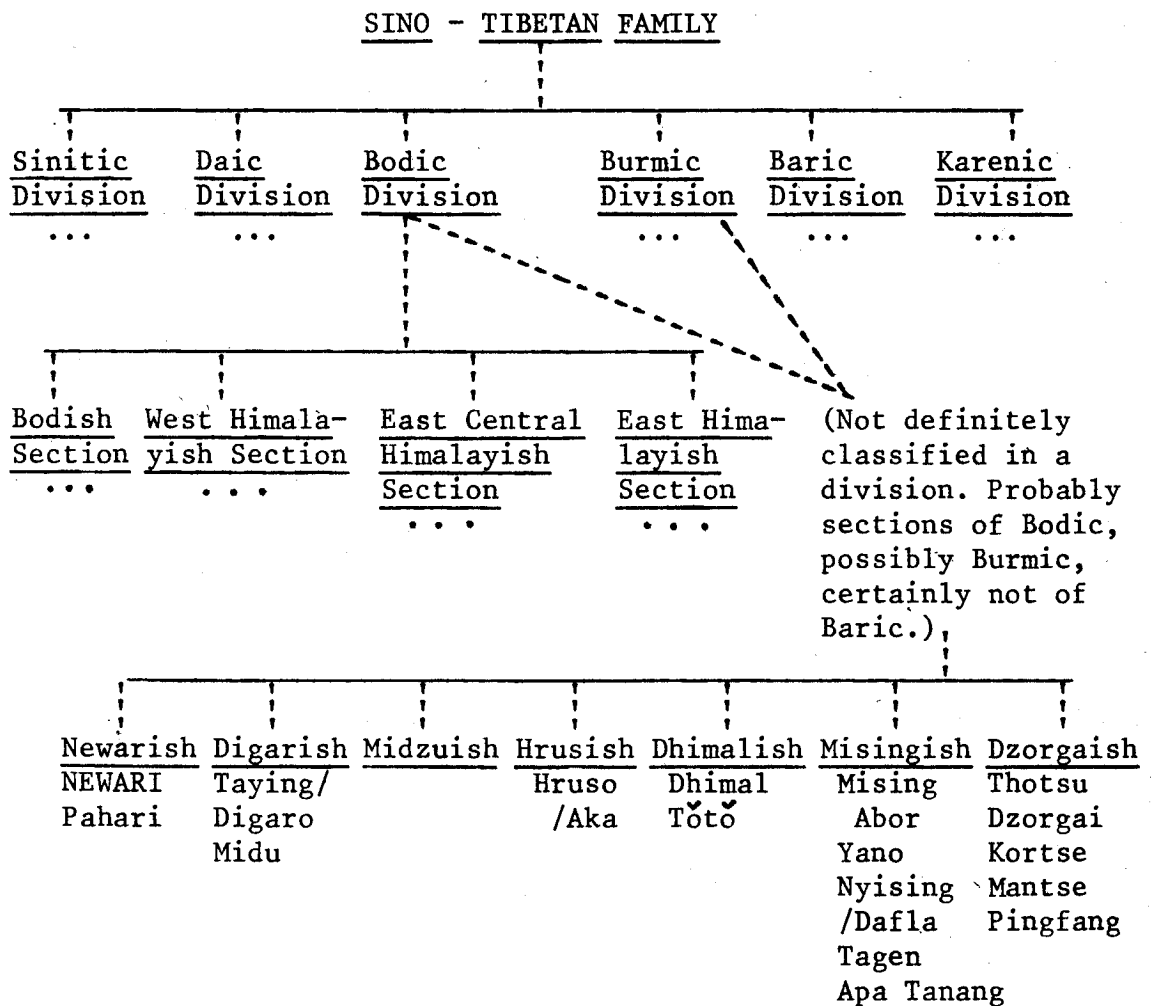
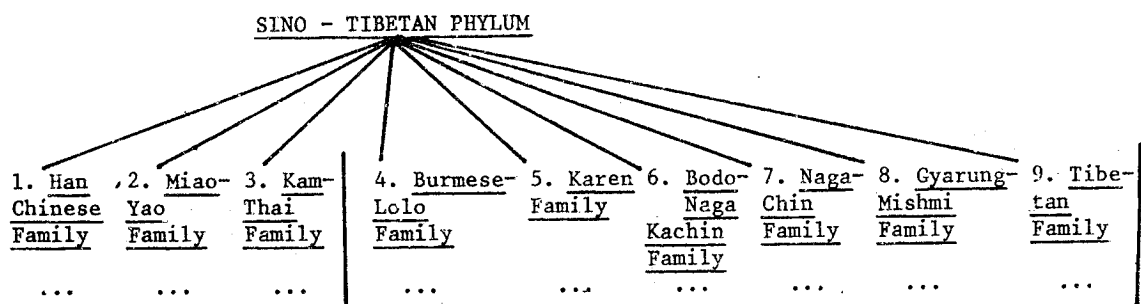
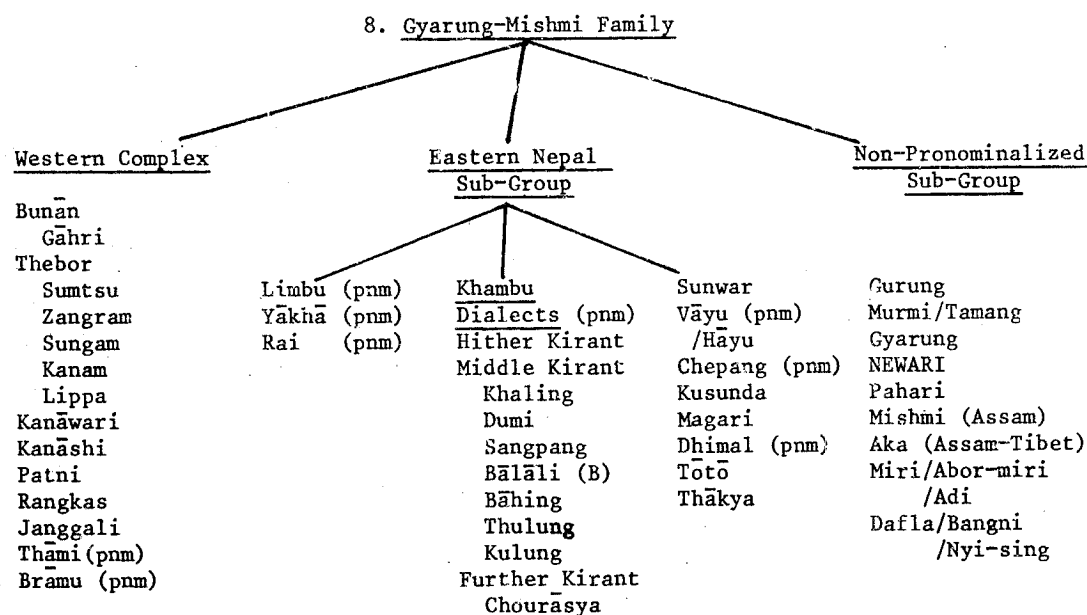


Fig. 2: Division of Sino-Tibetan family, based on Shafer (1966)



Traditionally Tibeto-Burman, but Voegelin and Voegelin do not use this as a classificatory term.



pnm = pronominalized language
B = Bontāwa language
/ = alternate name for the same language

Fig. 3: Division of Sino-Tibetan families, showing mainly the Gyarung-Mishmi languages, based on Voegelin and Voegelin (1964/65)

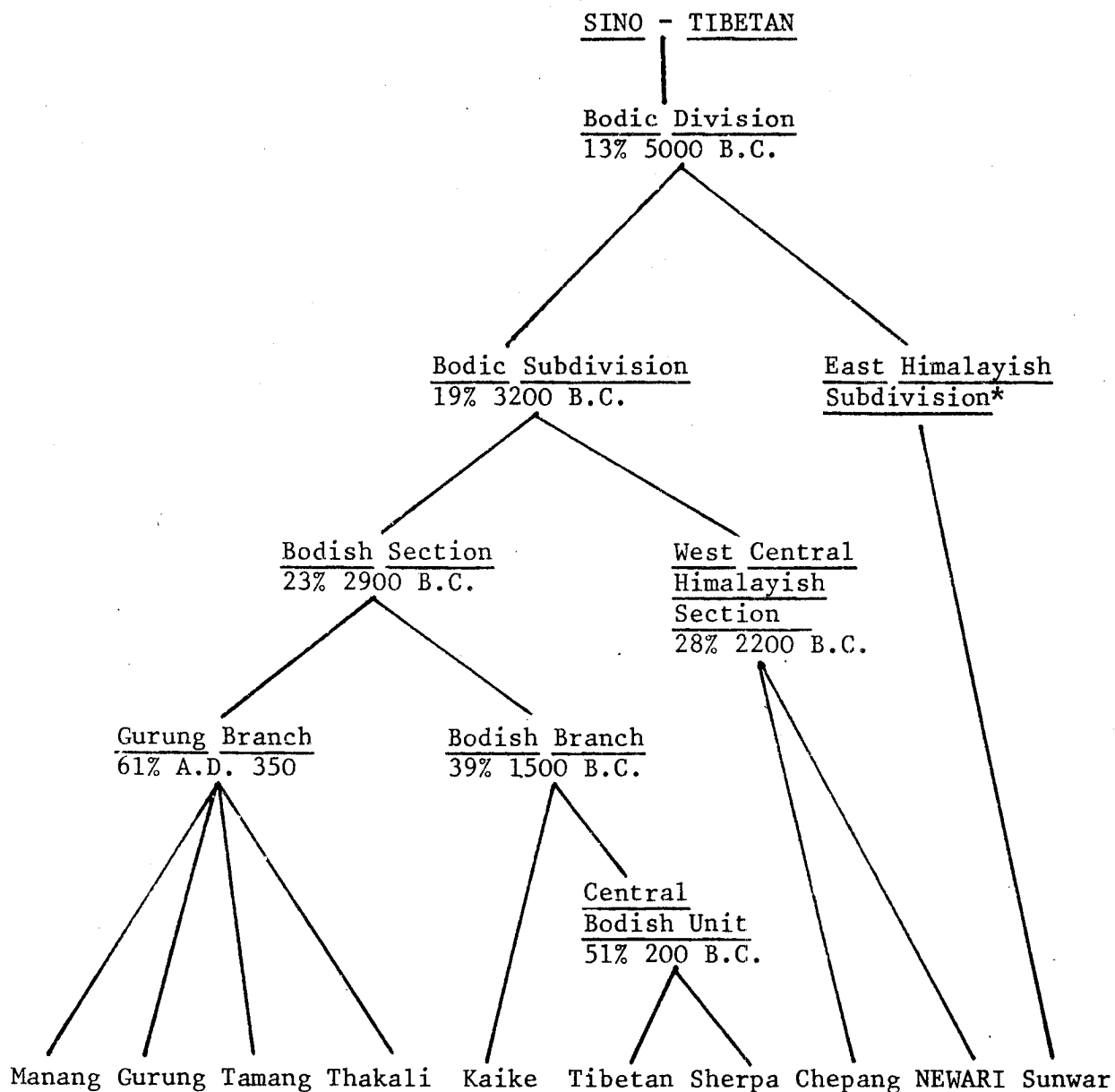


Fig. 4: Relation of Newari to Sino-Tibetan, based on Glover (1970) who has preserved Shafer's terminology.
*East Himalayish includes two or more branches.

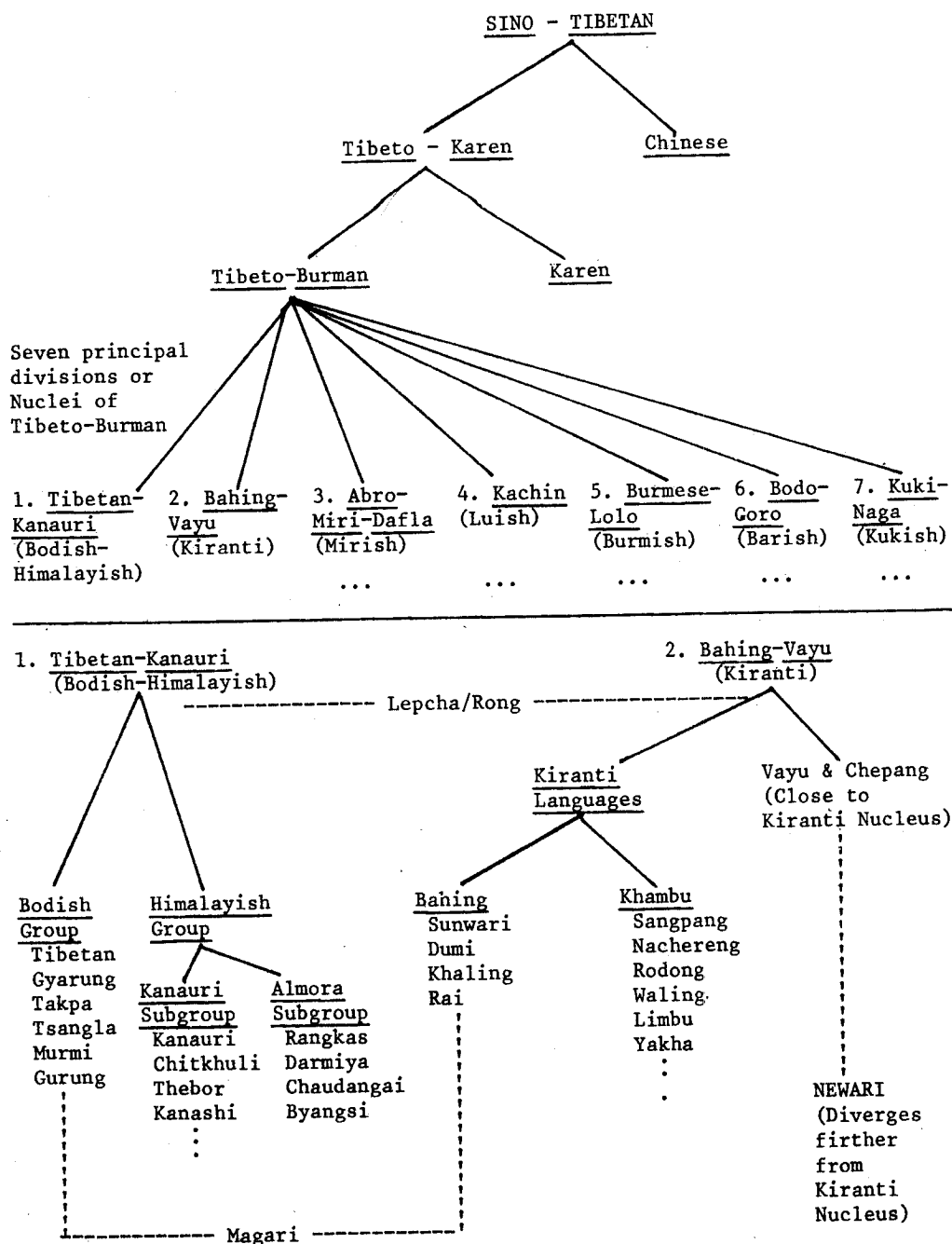


Fig. 5: Division of Tibeto-Burman languages showing mainly the Bodish-Himalayish and Kiranti groups, based on Benedict (1972)

The classificatory works surveyed above seem to indicate considerable difficulty and uncertainty about the placement of Newari. The initial problem may be due to the inability of scholars to connect Newari with the migration pattern of Tibeto-Burman speakers, as proposed in the Linguistic Survey of India. Further, Newari separated from the "Tibetan" group and the basically pronominalized Himalayan languages at an early period of its history. In this respect it is difficult or at least arbitrary to reconstruct the basic stratum that had contributed to present day Newari speech. The truth perhaps lies in the fact that Newari is a language evolving from mixed racial/linguistic influences that do not lend easily to a neat classification.

NOTES

1. The evidence from manuscripts and historical documents shows that the language was originally known as 'Nepāl Bhāsā' from Nepal Samvat 500 (A.D. 1380), and came to be referred as 'Newari' by foreign scholars only from N.S. 880 (A.D. 1760) onwards. For an etymology of the word 'Nepāla', see Malla (1980a, 1981).
2. Some doubt has recently been cast on the date of this document, long believed to be the oldest Newari manuscript. Scholars, however, have not arrived at conclusive verification.
3. For details on Newari syllable structure, see Kansakar (1980:9-16), and Kansakar (1982) for an account of Newari verb morphology.
4. This view seems to contradict the popular hypothesis proposed in the Linguistic Survey of India of two branches of migration along the Himalayas from east to west. Chatterjee (1951) and Regmi (1960) assign the origin of the first branch to north Assam and NEFA (the Newars included), and the second branch to Tibet in the north.

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Decision-making among Farming Families

Casper J. Miller, S.J.*

This article introduces the topic of decision-making among farming families. In the first section, the general idea of people's participation in agricultural development is touched upon. The second section briefly describes the geographical, social and economic context in which decisions are made by farming families in the area of Palpa District selected for study. In the third section, an example of decision-making is given and analysed. The final section raises a few uncomfortable questions and ends with a suggestion.

I. Like many excellent ideas, the idea of people's participation in development may be suffering the fate of becoming a slogan. The words are repeated so often that the mind becomes dulled to their content. For the purposes of this article I understand people's participation to comprise four inter-related processes in addition to the goal of participation in benefits. These 4 processes are planning, decision-making, implementation and evaluation (APROSC 1978). Full participation would mean that the people are involved in all four processes. When development projects claim to include people's participation, it is useful to examine which of these processes is meant. If the development project is to construct a road within the panchayat with the people's participation, does this mean that the people merely contribute their labour, i.e., the aspect of implementation only? Have the people been consulted about the desirability of the road? Have they had the opportunity to voice their approval or disapproval in a decisive way? Is there any way by which they are drawn into the evaluation of the project both during and after its implementation? People's participation that means just taking part in the work of digging and carrying is surely a dubious privilege. Full participation is the ideal and within full participation the key element, the pivot, is obviously decision-making, along with the planning process which leads up to it.

Of special importance to Nepal is agricultural development. Increased production is urgently needed not only to bring about a degree of prosperity for the 96 percent of the population who live in rural communities but to keep pace with the growing population and to prevent a worse slide into sub-human conditions.

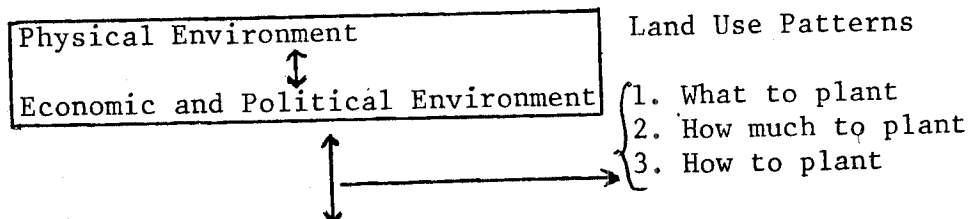
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People's participation in agricultural development leads directly into the question of farm management. The key element, decision-making, is farm management.

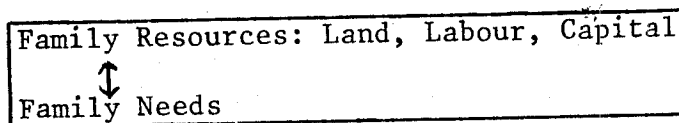
In her critical survey of the literature on farmers' decision-making, Barlett isolates the three basic questions that farmers ask themselves in regard to land use decisions: what do I plant, how much do I plant, how do I plant it (Barlett 1978: 1). "When development planners and workers talk about changing agriculture or bringing about agricultural development, the focus is changing one or another of the above three parts of a farmer's land use decision. ... To bring about change, we need first to know what the current results of these decisions are, and then how the decisions are made. That is, we need to have a description of current land uses and we need to know what determines those decisions" (Idem). Barlett answers the question of how the decisions are determined in a diagram which shows land use options interacting with household needs and resources. Land use options themselves are the result of an interaction between physical environment and the economic and political environment.

Diagram: The Decision-making Process

I. What are the land use options?



II. What are the Household Needs and Resources?



(Barlett 1978: 2)

To illustrate what she means by Economic and Political Environment, Barlett names colonization programs, land registration and warfare as examples of political factors and credit programs, price supports, and marketing facilities as examples of economic factors. All of these factors, along with the physical environment, combine together to define the possibilities for land use decisions in an area. "These possibilities are then weighed by each household or family unit. Each family has a series of needs to be met through agriculture and also a group of resources with which to meet them. Household labour, land, and capital are

invested in the final agricultural decisions. ... At each stage in this process, the farmer's perceptions, intelligence, and past history are also a factor" (Barlett 1978: 3).

From Barlett's analysis two points emerge clearly: agricultural decision-making is a complex process and this process takes place on the family level. The determining factors in the lower half of her diagram vary from family to family. Agricultural development, though of national importance, takes place or not, depending on what individual families decide to do.

Hagan insists on the same point for Nepal in his 1971 report: "The primary thesis of this paper is the contention that a successful planning program in the agricultural sector must start with the individual farm units of which it is composed. It is further emphasized that most farmers need assistance in planning, evaluating, and developing more productive and profitable systems of operation. Those who assist must become acquainted with the farmer's resources, his family goals and the problems which impede his progress and must have sincere compassion for improving the family's economic welfare" (Hagan 1971: 1). It could be noted here that if Hagan is correct in his insistence on an extension program that is highly personalized and imbued with the human virtue of compassion then Nepal's extension program must be seen as woefully inadequate. In 1976 there were only about 800 Junior Technicians (JT) and Junior Technical Assistants (JTA) in the country, a ratio of extension agent to farm household of 1:3000 (Yadav 1976: 5).

From Barlett's description of the decision-making process, one might get the impression that each farming household takes an explicitly or solely rational approach to farm management and goes about the business of making agricultural decisions in a coldly calculating way. This may be near the truth in countries where farming is conducted as an agri-business. But Hagan seems to be closer to the situation as it exists in Nepal when he writes: "All farmers ... conduct their operations by some kind of plan. Perhaps, the general plan is a traditional one handed down from generation to generation. Quite often, any changes from the usual pattern are the result of fortuitous circumstances - such as severe drought, too much rain, livestock diseases, etc. Likewise, operating plans and day-by-day work procedures often become habitual and the manager rarely takes time to question what he is doing, how the work is performed, and whether or not some other way would be more productive and profitable for the time and effort applied" (Hagan 1971: 10-11).

But something is missing in all this discussion, something very important. Both Barlett and Hagan neglect to emphasize or even explicitly to include socio-religious factors and kinship relationships as major elements in the decision-making processes leading to agricultural development. Barlett does speak of the natural environment interacting with the social environment to create the various options available to farmers in any given area. But she reduces the social aspect to its political and economic dimensions in her diagram. Hagan does speak of the role of tradition when he discusses farm management. But he makes it clear that he is speaking of traditional methods of agriculture and not to broader meanings of the term. In any attempt to understand the decision-making process among farming families, in Nepal or anywhere, formal recognition should be given to the role of socio-religious tradition and to kinship structure as major elements. After describing what she believes to be the major factors contributing to farmers' decisions, Barlett adds that "at each stage in this process, the farmer's perceptions, intelligence, and past history are also a factor" (Barlett 1978: 3). I would qualify that statement by eliminating "also" and replacing it with "especially". His intelligence is native to him, but the farmer's perceptions are to a large extent the result of the socialization process he has been submitted to since infancy by his family and village society. His past history is not only a personal one but the past history of the culture into which he was born, a socio-religious culture as well as an economic and political one. In my treatment of decision-making among farming families, I wish to give emphasis to this. In my methodology I wish to give emphasis to actual observation of how any and all decisions are reached in these farming families.

II. An area of West-Central Nepal, the Tinau Khola watershed, became the site for my participant-observation of decision-making. Of the 22 panchayats in the watershed, five were selected to be the object of special study by the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS). The object was to provide the Tinau Watershed Project (TWP) with social, economic and ecological background for the planning and implementation of development activities. My own research centred in Jhadewa Panchayat in the easternmost section of the watershed. The modern administrative unit, the panchayat, takes its name from the Jhadewa Phant, a flat alluvial valley floor ringed with hills. Villagers say that it was once a lake and no doubt they are correct. They also add that in legendary times the god Ram Chandra visited the lake for fishing and from his footprint sprang up the local variety of rice called Jhandewar.

The level floor of the Jhadewa Phant is extensively and intensively cultivated. Farmers have left little space even for

the streams which drain the valley, and in the rainy season their swollen waters must sometimes struggle their way through precious rice fields, leaving devastation and hopelessness for the cultivators along with their rocks and gravel.

Villagers have built their houses on the hillsides and spurs jutting into the Jhadewa Phant. Not only is the flat land of the valley floor much too valuable as paddy land to be used for homesteads, but until recent times this area was malarial. Malaria control programs have now eliminated that risk, and some people have begun to move down, not into the rice-growing area, but into a rocky corner of the valley where only maize is cultivated.

The white-washed houses of the Brahmans and Chhetris are set off from the red-walled houses of Magars and Sarkis (cobblers). This colour-codes the hamlets of Jhadewa for caste and ethnic group. The economic divisions show up in another "code" that can also be taken in at a glance, i.e., the roofing material for the houses. Tin indicates relative prosperity; thatch suggests an economic condition of no surplus. Thatch predominates.

There are altogether 7 caste and ethnic groupings represented among the one hundred household heads included in the Jhadewa survey. Upadhyaya and Jaisi Brahmans taken together add up to nearly half, i.e., 49; when the 8 Chhetris are included, the number of sacred thread-wearing household heads comes to 57. There are 31 household heads belonging to the ethnic groups known as Matwali jat (alcohol drinking groups): 24 Magars, 3 Ghartis, 3 Newars and 1 Gurung. In addition there are 12 household heads from the Sarki (cobbler) community. When these hundred household heads are thus viewed in the light of the binary opposition of ritually clean/ritually unclean (pani calne/pani na calne), it is seen that the great majority, i.e., 88 percent, belong to the ritually clean category and only the 12 Sarkis are ritually unclean.

Besides the traditional division between ritually clean/unclean, there is another binary opposition operative in village society, the division between the haves and the have nots, the hune and the na hune, literally those who are and those who are not. This terminology of the hune/na hune is in common use among the people of the farming community of Jhadewa. It is heard more often in speech than the ritual distinctions of clean/unclean which are also clearly recognised but hardly ever discussed.

To belong to the hune or "haves" category means to have enough land and livestock to support one's family without having to sell labour or to go into debt; it means to be self-sufficient

from one's own resources. Those who do not produce enough to feed their families and who must therefore sell their labour or go into debt to meet basic food requirements are thus the na hune, the have nots. The opposition is sometimes bluntly expressed in terms of having enough food or not having enough food, khanna pugne/khanna na pugne. Within the hune or khanna pugne category exists a sub-category of those who not only produce sufficient food to fulfill their own requirements but in addition have a surplus to sell. These farmers become by that fact the money-lenders in the village. The loans are most often in the form of grain which they give out with interest.

The economic divisions of hune/na hune can be expressed also in the vocabulary of Large and Small Farmer, with an intermediary group called Medium Farmer. For our research for the TWP a division into Small, Medium and Large Farmer was made on the basis of the value of land and livestock owned. According to information and estimates made by the local farmers, land suitable for rice growing (khet) was assigned the rupee equivalent of Rs.4000 per ropani; land suitable for maize, i.e. bari land, whether sloping or flat, was given the value of Rs.3000 per ropani; sloping land where only thatch grass was grown (kharbari) was valued at Rs. 2000 per ropani. Appropriate rupee values were also used for the animals owned by the farmers. Taking all the surveyed households together, an attempt was made to define three nearly equal sized groups in terms of total value of both land and livestock. Farmers with land and livestock worth less than Rs. 50,000 were classified as Small, those worth Rs. 50,000 or more but less than Rs. 100,000 as Medium, and those worth Rs. 100,000 and more as Large Farmers. The result for Jhadewa's one hundred surveyed households was 28 Small, 36 Medium, and 36 Large Farmers.

In Jhadewa there is a certain amount of cross-cutting of the economic categories of hune/na hune or Small, Medium, Large with the ritual categories of pani calne/pani na calne but there is also a broad correlation between high ritual status and high economic position. For example, 51 percent of the ritually high status Brahman households are Large Farmers, 33 percent are Medium, and only 12 percent are Small Farmers. With the members of the ritually low status Sarki community the picture is reversed; only 17 percent are Large Farmers, 25 percent are Medium and 58 percent are Small Farmers. As for the middle-ranking Magars, 25 percent are Large, 33 are Medium, and 42 percent are Small Farmers.

It must be obvious that the division of households into Small, Medium and Large Farmers is a rough and ready sorting out of the population with a certain degree of arbitrariness

about it. For one thing, significant variations in the quality and location of land within the broad categories of khet and bari have not been taken into account. But even more importantly, it should be pointed out that the local criterion of relative wealth is not simply the amount of land owned but the amount of rice land owned. Some of the Magar, Gharti and Sarki farmers have ended up in the Medium Farmer category because of the amount of bari and kharbari land they possess, but in their own view and in that of their neighbours, they are poor, na hune, precisely because they have no rice land at all. When we consider the total number of farmers with rice land, i.e., 69 out of the 100 in the survey, and examine the proportion of owners according to their membership in the various castes and ethnic groups, the correlation between the ritually higher castes and higher economic status is clear. The percentage distribution of farmers owning rice land, according to caste, shows that 79 percent are Brahman-Chettri, 11 percent Magar and Newar (10 percent Magar, 1 percent Newar), and 10 percent Sarki.

III. With this brief description of the geographical, social and economic context, let us examine one example of the decision-making process as observed in Jhadewa and submit it to analysis. The example comes from a Jaisi Brahman family that was my host family during the year of field work for the TWP. Living in their house, sharing their meals, listening to their conversations, I had ample opportunity to observe hundreds of decisions, big and small, being made. I even participated in many of them once I was accepted as part of the household. Analysing the process to see the underlying principles at work reveals some of the strengths and weaknesses that must be understood and appreciated before people's participation in agricultural development can become effective. I am convinced that even a trivial-seeming incident of decision-making can lead into a deeper understanding of society and culture and vice versa.

Starting right from the beginning, I choose an example from the first afternoon I spent in the village. Arrangements for my stay in the household had been made a few months earlier with the middle-aged wife and mother of the family at a time when her husband was away; now on my arrival, with her husband present, she welcomed me and showed me the section of the house which I would occupy, a two-storey extension with its own entrance. Everything was to my satisfaction except for the fact that there was no latrine. My Nepali companion and guide from the TWP office in Tansen brought this to the attention of the landlady at once. Without hesitation she agreed in principle that a pit-latrine could be dug for my use but for her the location was the key factor. The latrine should be out of sight of the neighbours, it must not be visible from the public path, for, as she

explained, "If people can see that we have a latrine here they will despise us; they may know that we have a latrine, but they must not see it."

After some looking about, we found a mutually acceptable location for the latrine in a corner of a maize field, not too distant from their house and out of the view of the neighbours and passers-by on the path. It seemed settled then and there but while returning from the field to the house my landlady said, half to herself, "I should ask my husband." When she arrived at the house, "asking her husband" took the form of telling him to call the Sarki carpenter first thing next morning to come and start digging. This her husband did.

I was to learn from this experience and from many others to follow that in this household it was the woman who made most of the decisions. She was effectively in charge. And yet, even in this family where the wife's assertive personality dominated the quiet retiring nature of her husband, a cultural principle of male authority was given recognition, even if it usually amounted to only lip-service, as in this case: "I must ask my husband."

As my field work progressed, I observed a similar relationship in other Brahman families, though normally the wife displayed more subtlety than my forceful landlady in the role of an effective decision-maker who yet knows how to remain in the background and defer outwardly to her husband. The somewhat ambiguous picture of household authority is the result, I believe, of a tension between the patrilineal virilocal family structure and the actual situation in many families of men being absent from the farm for extended periods for the purpose of earning cash while the women remain behind in de facto control of the household and farm management.

This was the case with my host family. Though now belonging in the Large Farmer category and considered by all to be among the hune, they had begun married life with a very small inheritance. The husband's army savings and then his employment for 18 years with the Bombay Municipality resulted in the family's gradual acquisition of excellent rice land in his home valley of Jhadewa but also in his loss of effective control of the family. For the wife divided her time between Bombay and Jhadewa, residing for months and years at a time in the village. It was she who used the husband's savings to purchase the land for rice and maize, who was on the spot to make the farm management decisions, who hired the plowmen and other workers, who supervised the construction of their large house, who selected and purchased the livestock. When the husband finally returned to live in Jhadewa, he came as nominal head of the family and thus the official farm

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manager, yet he lacked the experience of his wife, experience that made her the real head of the household in regard to most of the decisions that had to be made. An awkward situation, an ambiguous situation, causing difficulties for them both. Society says the man is in charge. "I should have been a man", she complained one day to one of her neighbours after relating her efforts to locate a milking buffalo at a good purchase price.

Looking back again at the example of decision-making given, we can see an important value at work, shaping the decision, viz. the value attached to reputation, ijjat. What people will think, especially what people will say. For my landlady, the fact of people merely knowing about the latrine is not a serious objection to constructing one. There is also no question of trying to keep it a secret. The impossibility of secrecy and the lack of privacy are among the first principles of village life, as I quickly learned. Rather what she is concerned about is people being able to see the latrine, to see it and thus easily make it a topic of discussion among themselves. "People will despise us." Her aim is not secrecy but invisibility. Having a latrine in a visible place is inviting unfavourable attention, unfavourable comment. Avoiding such comment is a value. The decision about the location of the latrine was clearly made on the basis of ijjat.

I hope I do not offend anyone's sensibilities by dwelling thus on the subject of a latrine. For there are indeed questions of sensibilities here. Though sanitation is a basic issue for development, it is hardly a straight-forward issue that can be viewed simply in terms of health and hygiene. It contains implications of a spiritual and ritual nature. Just why will "people despise us" if we use a latrine for defecation instead of the jungle? To understand this I suggest a consideration of Dumont's theory concerning the Hindu attitude to the organic, an attitude that is an element in the understanding of the caste system itself. In Homo Hierarchicus Dumont argues that the caste system is based on the principle of the opposition of the pure and the impure. This hierarchical structure of ranked hereditary groups marked by separation and a division of labour resulting in interdependence can be understood when it is seen as a whole which "is founded on the necessary and hierarchical coexistence of the two opposites," the pure and the impure (Dumont 1972: 81). Dumont does not claim that this opposition is the cause of caste society but that "it is by implicit reference to this opposition that the society of castes appears consistent and rational to those who live in it" (Ibid: 82). After examining the Code of Manu with its norms governing purity and impurity, Dumont concludes: "It can be seen that impurity corresponds to the organic aspect of man" (Ibid: 88). In other words, greater purity and correspondingly higher status

depends on greater distance, greater separation from the organic aspects of human life, especially from the secretions and excretions of the human body.

For me a latrine meant sanitation, cleanliness and privacy; for my high caste landlady it very possibly meant something quite different: a concentration of dangerous pollution. Defecation in the jungle, under the wide sky and in the open air, away from the areas marked out for human society, is understandably preferable to anyone whose implicit thinking is based on an opposition between the pure and the impure.

To realize more vividly that the notion of the organic as spiritually or religiously impure is somehow special to the Hindu view of the world, it is useful to contrast the example of China and the attitude of farmers there to human excreta. In Fanshen, a study of land reform in a north China village, Hinton describes the physical lay-out of the village of Long Bow: "Both sides of this gully-like main street were lined with mudwalls six to eight feet high, broken here and there by covered gateways that led into the courtyards of the people. Beside each gate was the family privy, hopefully placed at the edge of the public road in anticipation of a contribution to the domestic store of fertilizer from any traveller who might be in need of relief" (Hinton 1966: 19). He goes on to emphasize the economic importance of this fertilizer, "The crops grew only on what was put into the soil each year; hence manure was the foundation of the whole economy. The chief source of supply was the family privy, and this became, in a sense, the center of the household. ... Legendary in the region were the landlords so stingy that they would not allow their hired men to defecate in the fields but made them walk all the way back to the ancestral home to deposit their precious burden. Other landlords would not hire local people on a long-term basis because local people were wont to use their own privies while a man from outside used that of his employer" (Ibid: 23).

Unlike Jhadewa where privies are almost unknown and certainly hidden out of sight, this village in north China gave privies a prominent location and made sure that everyone used them. Even more unlike Jhadewa, in Long Bow Village the night soil was valued in itself; it was collected in privies in order to be used. Hinton describes in detail a day he spent working with an exchange-labour group in extracting the so-called "black gold" from a privy and carrying buckets of it to the fields about to be planted with corn (Ibid: 428-9). Family privies in Jhadewa, for the purpose of sanitation and health, is a not inconceivable development goal. But a decision to use the collected night soil on the fields to achieve a goal of greater agricultural production does seem inconceivable

here. Agricultural decision-making can only operate within the boundaries that socio-religious tradition has set up. If it is true that the opposition of the pure and the impure is the intellectual foundation of caste society; its ideological basis and form, then it will endure as long as the society endures and will be the background for decisions of all kinds.

According to the plan of this article, I have given only one example of decision-making at the village family level. Undecided myself as to which example to choose, I took the course of chronology and chose the first instance of decision-making that I encountered. It is an example of a decision that was not only observed by me but one in which I participated. To have a latrine or not was clearly not an issue with the family until I came on the scene. Since I wanted one, the wife decided to have one built. During its construction and after, I made efforts to educate them on the value of a covered pit latrine for health and hygiene. It was easy to illustrate during the mid-day meal in May and June as we ate with one hand and constantly brushed away the flies with the other. I was pleased to notice after some weeks that first the school-going sons and later their parents began to make use of the latrine themselves. The boys did so explicitly for reasons of sanitation and health; the mother and father followed the lead of their children and presumably for the same reasons, though they never discussed it. Besides, it was there. Without denying the power of ideological objections, we can also admit the power of practical convenience, especially during the monsoon rains.

To end the account of this little drama, it can be noted that after I left the village several days of heavy rain caused a landslide that swept away the section of the maize field where the pit latrine and its thatch-roofed shelter had been built. The family regretted the loss, so they told me on a visit to the village some months later. But they had not attempted to rebuild it or to construct another one. The original reason for having a latrine at all, that an outsider like myself wanted it and was willing to finance its construction, was no longer operative. I was gone and, though they could have afforded to build another, that particular use of their resources did not have priority. Sanitation reverted to its pre-Tinau Khola Project state. That too was a decision.

IV. In conclusion, I would like to share with you a temptation I experience when I consider the question of decision-making, especially agricultural decision-making. Seeing the meagre landholdings of so many farmers and the burden of debt and dependence they labour under to maintain an undernourished existence, I am tempted to think that discussing agricultural decision-making in

most cases is merely an academic exercise. What scope does the small farmer have for farm management? It presupposes a farm, a decent farm. Land decisions presuppose land, sufficient land for the farmer to experiment. For the na hune, the have nots, farm management decisions must give place to daily survival decisions. They have no elbow-room, no space within which to manoeuvre.

The have nots in Jhadewa have no elbow-room even in regard to credit. Borrow they must, but government loans are denied to them on the basis of their poverty since they lack sufficient land to stand as collateral. But the large farmer is on hand to give them loans of foodgrains; the wealthy shop-keeper is there to give them credit for cloth. Basic needs for survival are met but at the price of dependence and the loss of human dignity. There is another alternative, to leave Nepal, to take what the villagers call the "nun khamne bato", the salt-eating road. But this alternative merely makes the dependence a larger problem, a dependence of one nation on another, not merely of one individual on another. That such a dependence actually exists is the thesis of the authors of Nepal in Crisis (Blaikie et al. 1980).

The landless and the small farmers know very well what their basic needs are. They have been telling the government for a long time. Nearly thirty years ago a visiting expert from India reported to HMG that "wherever we went, whether in the Pokhara valley, Kathmandu valley or the tarai, the first demand of the people was always for land and for water for irrigation and for water for drinking" (Seth 1953: 2). Land reform legislation has not been lacking but its implementation has been unsatisfactory, as is clear from the reports of ILO advisor Kuhnén (1970) and FAO expert Zaman (1974). The connection between development, people's participation, and land reform is made explicit in Zaman's comment that "it is naive to expect modernisation of Nepal's agriculture with the voluntary participation of 88 percent of the farmers, when there is such serious disparity in holdings between land-owners and between land-owners and tenants" (Zaman 1974: 11). In other words, government decisions about land reform condition the kind of decisions farmers can make.

A brief look at such a government decision concerning land, though somewhat bewildering, may also be instructive. During the Workshop on People's Participation in Rural Development in Nepal, held in 1978, the Chairman and the then Minister for Food, Agriculture and Irrigation gave the following example: "There was an irrigation project which needed people's participation in its construction. But only a limited number of people owned land. Only they would benefit. How could we involve people who didn't possess land? There were 20 families who had no land, so to involve them, land was given to them to bring participation" (Sharma 1978: 15).

I confess to a kind of morbid fascination with the Minister's example; it causes a certain mental vertigo. Is it not all backwards? A project must be completed, participation must be achieved, and so the landless are bestowed with land. If land is available for the landless, why must the decision to construct an irrigation project with people's participation be necessary before they get access to the land. They have had the need all along. Is there perhaps an indication of a lack of understanding and compassion for the human suffering that landlessness necessarily involves in Nepal? Has "People's Participation" truly become a slogan to which lip service is paid and in the name of which isolated gestures are performed?

Perhaps what is needed is a study of decision-making not just among farming families but among city-based government bureaucrats too. It might be easier in their case to identify the basis of the development decisions, especially in regard to participation in the benefits of development. A trivial example comes to mind. Much-travelled roads in Patan are badly in need of maintenance and repair and yet, at the same time as these needs were neglected, an out-of-the-way lane in a residential area was metalled last year. It will come as no surprise that the little-used lane led to a then full Minister's residence. Another trivial example. While most people more or less patiently endure the inconveniences of load-shedding, an official of the Electricity Department enjoys 24 hours of uninterrupted electricity daily. Though no one would want to be petty and quibble with the decisions of the Roads Department or Electricity Department, still the examples serve to remind us that many decisions in regard to the benefits of development are made on the basis of privilege. We have perhaps become used to it.

But what do the examples given above in this section of the paper have to do with decision-making among farming families. The direct connection between land reform and farm management has already been pointed out and needs no further emphasis. But to see how privilege, or the use of power to attain personal benefits, affects the little people on the farm we have to return to the first part of this paper and its diagram. We recall that the family with its resources and needs interacts with the political environment. Now privilege permeates that environment. We are faced again with the presence of a hierarchy, but not a hierarchy of values, as in Dumont's scheme of a spiritual ranking of the pure above the impure, nor an economic hierarchy as such; this is rather a hierarchy of power, understood as a control over men and material resources. Economic prosperity is an excellent base for building power, and yet, though usually overlapping rather neatly with the economic hierarchy of haves and have-nots, this hierar-

chical opposition of powerful and powerless, of Big Men and little men, is really distinct.

To recognise a hierarchy of power at work in Nepali society, at city and village level, is not to deny the validity of Dumont's insight into the meaning of society but to acknowledge its incompleteness. The development of a larger understanding that will include not only all kinds of hierarchies but also illumine their relationships to each other is still, as far as I know, an unfinished task in social anthropology. But whether it all fits together neatly or not, the man with power, the Big Man, the leader, is a structural element in society that should not be ignored. Certainly the little people in Jhadewa are aware of it. They see that certain men in the village have the power to manipulate resources, institutions and events to their personal advantage. In addition to their solid economic base, the village leaders possess advantages like literacy or education, plus the all-important ability to deal with other powerful men at higher levels than the village, e.g., development agents and government officials. The leaders, the neta, know how to speak - this is a skill that all the villagers recognise. In Jhadewa the Big Men have used their advantages and their power to monopolise for themselves the services the government provides to increase agricultural production. For example, the JTA in that area deals exclusively with the strongest political leader and a handful of his associates. Being powerless, the other farmers' scope for farm management decisions is severely limited.

However much one may deplore it, an attitude such as privilege in the political environment cannot be uprooted or attacked directly. Besides, the little people too practise their petty exploitations on those even less powerful, both inside and outside the family, and can be quite as manipulative in small ways as any Big Man. The solution is not to deplore but to explore ways in which selfishness can be counteracted and privileges can be more widely shared. If the powerful get privileges, then let the weak find a way to acquire the power that will bring them their rightful share too in the benefits of development.

There is a way. To conclude this reflection on decision-making among farming families, I submit that the most significant, break-away, creative decision a low-income family could make is to decide to go it alone no longer but to join together with other low-income families in an upward movement, such as in a Small Farmers Development Group (Joshi 1980). Experience shows that a group of powerless "have-nots" can be transformed mentally and economically into a new phenomenon in Nepal: a group of "haves" who have become so not by competition or exploitation but by

cooperation and mutual support, a group of citizens with enough power to reach up and pull down what have been formerly the privileges of the powerful few, a group of farming people who truly participate in development.

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Death of Dharmadev

T.R. Vaidya*

Dharmadev was the father of Manadev I. He was one of the Licchavi kings. He is described to have ruled for forty-one years. According to the Changu inscription of Manadev I, Dharmadev was the son of Shankaradev. Religious-minded, well versed in Dandaniti (state craft) and Karmakanda (religious text), endowed with good virtues, king Dharmadev had expanded and protected Nepal. He was loved by his people by virtue of being a Rajarshi. Pure in mind and physique, bright as moon, well versed in Shastras he worshipped the gods by performing Yajnas (religious rites) (2030 B.S.: 9-16). He had trained his son Manadev in the use of weapons. Dharmadev who was bestowed with all these virtues, had a sudden death in C. 464 A.D.

So far all the historians have only mentioned the sudden death of Dharmadev. No question is raised how it happened. Was it a natural sudden death? In this article it is assumed that Dharmadev was killed by his son Manadev.

Let us examine some of the evidences which reveal that Dharmadev was murdered by his son Manadev. These sources mention that Dharmadev was killed by his son unknowingly. He was murdered by own his son by his own order. Gopalaraj Vamsavali, one of the oldest chronicles, writes "Tasyamrityu Swaputrenaratre Panalikasthane Shiraschhitwa Pitagyankritam // Tasya Putra Sri Manadeva Varsa 411 // Tenam Agyantena Pitavadhakrita // Mahaghorapataka ... (20B)". (His death was caused by the chopping off of his head by his own son beside a water conduit at midnight. It was done by his own order to his son. His son was Manadeva who ruled for 41 years. He had killed his father unknowingly. He had committed heinous sin. According to this description, Manadeva I had killed his father not at his own will but by his own father's order. The chronicler has clarified that it was not a political conspiracy of Manadev against his father.

Wright's chronicle (1958:59-60) narrates the event as follows, "... he was much grieved at seeing the memorial of his forefathers. the Narayana fountain become dry, and he therefore went to Budha Nilkantha for advice. The deity told him to consult the astrologers. He did so, and after some deliberation they said that it required a sacrifice of a human being possessed of the thirty-two attributes. The Raja resolved to obey these directions: but, thinking that to sacrifice a subject would be a sin, and

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to kill his own son, who possessed all the requisite attributes, would be cruel, he determined to be the victim himself. He therefore called his son Bhupkesari, and ordered him to kill, without looking at his face, a certain man, whom, on the fourth day after that he should find lying covered over on the fountain. The prince, going there on the appointed day, in accordance with his father's commands, and not knowing who the person was, cut off his head.

"Another version of the story is that it was Raja Vikmanti who was sacrificed, and that his son Manadeva was the patricide. The patricide, not being able to disengage his hand, to which the severed head attached itself, went to Mani Jogini, by whose advice he built the Buddhist temple and then the head became detached; which head (i.e. an image of it) is seen to the present day at Mani Jogini."

We have also a local legend about the incident. According to that, a king Viswadeva found the ancestral water conduit dry. When he consulted the astrologers, they advised the king to sacrifice a human being who possessed the thirty-two attributes. The king, after much thinking, decided to sacrifice himself. So he ordered his son Manadev to chop off the head of a human being without looking at his face who would be lying beside the conduit. The king himself was lying with his face covered. His son Manadev without looking at the face of the lying body chopped off the head. Then the water flow of the conduit (2011 B.S.: 4-8).

All these various informations were furnished many hundred years after the actual event had occurred. Gopalaraj Vamsavali was written in the 14th century A.D., whereas Wright's chronicle belonged to the 19th century A.D. So a very pertinent question before us is to what extent the descriptions written many centuries later can be accepted, until and unless there is contemporary evidence. About the period of which we are discussing, that is, Manadev I (464-505 A.D.) we do not have any other historical evidences except the inscriptions. We have in total 20 inscriptions of Manadev's period. None of these inscriptions whether erected by the king or the people (rich) mention anything about this event. On this ground so far the historians have ignored the descriptions and local traditions as a mere heresay.

A pertinent question is whether any inscription of any place so far has ever mentioned the evil deeds of the contemporary ruler. No contemporary scribe can ever venture to inscribe the evil deeds of a contemporary king in any public place. Similarly, no subjects would ever inscribe such things

in public places. The description of the evil deeds of the rulers will pass on from generation to generation. Only the later chroniclers record such things. Legends too have existed.

About the subject matter that Dharmadev was killed by his son seems to have passed from generation to generation as a legend. In the process of passing on the account, many additional descriptions were put forward in a much distorted form. As such a student of history has to analyse them most carefully. Genealogical order will also be incoherent in such accounts.

Such thing we find in this account also. The chronicler of Gopal Vsmsavali has described Manadev's murder of his father immediately after an account of Brishadeva, thus giving wrong information about the murder of Brishadeva* by Manadev. Another error in the chronicle is that Mahideva is referred to as the son of Dharmadev. Epigraphically Mahideva was the son of Manadev I.

The local legend has also erroneously mentioned Manadev as the son of Viswadeva (Vrishadeva). Wright's chronicle has also mentioned the event almost in the same erroneous way.

If we verify the authenticity of the event with the accounts of the inscriptions, the Changu pillar inscription of Manadev I dated 464 A.D. gives some faint hints to this effect on critical examination only. The inscription mentions that while worshipping the Gods and Goddesses the queen Rajyavati got the information about the death of king Dharmadev. At such information she was very much shocked and fainted. The royal servants were aghast. The queen came back (to the palace). Shedding tears from the eyes and sobbing with utter grief, she said to her son (Manadev), "Oh my dear son. Your father has expired. What is the sense in my living, after your father had passed away ? Oh dear ! I will follow my husband. Rule the country. There is no use of my surviving in this world which is like a labyrinth of hopes and like a mirage. To find the queen-mother so much determined for self immolation, the son (Manadev) bowing down to the feet of his mother, requested his mother, "What is the use of pleasure after your departure ? I will die first and then only you can die." Hard pressed by such pleas, the queen-mother agreed to that and decided not to immolate herself" (2030 B.S: 9-16).

The account of the inscription reveals :-

1. King Dharmadev had a sudden death.
2. Queen Rajyavati got the information while she was worshipping the dieties outside the palace.

*The great-grandfather of Manadev.

3. There was a chaos among the royal servants.
4. The queen wanted to observe sati.
5. Manadev persuaded her not to do that.
6. The queen agreed to her son's request.

Now let us examine to what extent the Changu inscription supports the versions of the legend and Vamsavalis.

The inscription, no doubt, does not openly mention anything like this to support the aforesaid account. But while critically examining the details I feel that the inscription indirectly support the view.

What was the necessity of explaining all the details about the sudden death of Dharmadev, the dialogue between Rajyavati and her son Manadev I, the feeling of the queen Rajyavati, and the confusion among the royal servants in the inscription ?

This account reveals that something unusual had happened. The unusual event was the patricide committed by Manadev I. To know of it queen Rajyavati was so much shocked that she wished to immolate herself with the dead king instead of living with the patricidal son Manadev. The Sati system was not compulsory then. Manadev who had realised the great mistake was much overwhelmed with grief and was much repentant. So he insisted that his mother should not die and said that he would first die himself sacrificing all the wordly pleasure and then only she could die. Had Manadev been a conspirator he would not have said it and checked his mother from being a Sati.

There is an account of the royal servants getting confused and aghast. Death of a king definitely causes confusion and sorrow among them. Further, sudden death of a king causes more confusion and sorrow to them. The importance given to such thing is also a strong point to prove that the courtiers and royal servants were so much confused because the crown prince had killed the king. They got scared of Manadev, the crown prince, because had he murdered his father out of political ambition it would have its effect on them also.

The accounts of Gopal Vamsavali about Manadev tally with the epigraphic evidences in many things. For example, the Vamsavali mentions that Manadev I ruled for forty-one years which is proved by the inscriptions also that Manadev ruled from C. 464 to 505 A.D. That very Vamsavali further mentions the construction of Mana-

bihar and the temple of Maneswar* by the same king. The Licchavi inscriptions also prove them. In this way if the other accounts of the said king are proved as facts by epigraphy, the account of Manadev's murdering his father should also be accepted. The only mistake we find in the Vamsavali as already mentioned was that he was referred as the son of Brishadev. This is a mistake on the part of the chronicler.

The writer assumes that the rebellion on the part of the feudatories of the East and West of Nepal was an outcome of the murder of the king. The news of the murder of the king by the crown prince spread like a wild fire. There must have been much political confusion in the capital. It had its effect in the remote areas also. The feudatories revolted against the new king. But Manadev, a very brave king, led the army personally and suppressed them. Thus the word "Satha" referred to the feudatories of the East can be interpreted to mean that Manadev who had killed his father unknowingly was mistaken and suspected. So he got furious at them and used the word "Satha" which means idiots. The feudal chief of Mallapuri who paid tribute to Dharmadev also now refused to pay the same to the patricidal king. So Manadev is described to have said in the Changu inscription that if the feudal chiefs when called did not turn up, he himself would go to suppress them. So he, with the help of his maternal uncle, suppressed the rebellious feudatory of Mallapuri. Thus the revolt of the feudatories was the direct outcome of the murder of Dharmadev by Manadev.

The conjecture of most historians was that the revolt of the feudatories was due to the accession to the throne of minor king Manadev under the regency of queen-mother Rajyavati does not seem true. Rajyavati does not seem to have worked as a regent on the basis of epigraphy. Manadev had ruled himself right from 464 A.D. Moreover, if Manadev was a minor in 464 A.D., he could not have led the army himself to the East and the West as the Changu inscription mentions. He was not a minor in 464 A.D. He had not reigned under the regency of his mother Rajyavati. He was a man full of vigour, capable and competent by then. So he could cope with all the revolts. He might be in his early twenties by then.

Another important thing is that if nothing had happened, why did all the chronologies mention almost unanimously about the patricidal case of Manadev I. The description of this case is also referred in a very popular local legend, relating to

*Maneswar is referred in the Licchavi inscription. Probably in the later period the female form of Maneswar became Maneswari as the Shaktism gained much popularity.

a water conduit named Narayanahiti. The references of this case in almost all the Vamsavalis and the local legend and the description of sudden death of Dharmadev in the Changu inscription tally to a large extent. Hence Manadev was involved in the patricidal case.

It may be that because of such a case a chronicler mentioned "Avamsaja Pratipalita Putra Raja Manadev" (1977:119) (king Manadev an adopted son, not belonging to the family). This account reveals two things; firstly Avamsaja (not belonging to the family) and secondly Pratipalita Putra (an adopted son). Why did the chronicler mention it? Epigraphically Manadev belonged to the Licchavi dynasty and was not as adopted son at all. The chronicler would seem to have guessed that if Manadev was a son of king Dharmadev, he could not do that sort of heinous crime. So he wrote Manadev as an adopted son not belonging to the family.

What I assume, on the basis of the legend and Vamsavalis, is that Manadev I killed his father Dharmadev at midnight as ordered by his father. At that time human sacrifice was in vogue. Next morning queen Rajyavati ignorant of it went to worship Gods and Goddesses as usual. People found a dead body lying beside a water conduit. To their utter shock they found it the king's dead body. The shocking news spread like wild fire. The courtiers were confused. Queen Rajyavati was informed at her worshipping place a temple outside the palace. At such tragic information queen Rajyavati could not bear it and fainted. After recovering she returned to the palace. Crown Prince Manadev must have been shocked. Later, preparation for funeral rite was made. Rajyavati out of sheer desperation wished to immolate herself. Manadev, realising the whole situation, pleaded his mother not to immolate herself. He also realised that one murder should not be followed by another death of the queen. Moreover Rajyavati had to be kept alive for political reasons also. So he did not allow her to die. There must have been some chaos in the capital, which led to disturbances outside. Thus the feudatories revolted. Manadev was successful in suppressing them. After that Manadev to atone for his sin constructed temples.

The event seems to have shocked Rajyavati too much and she did not live long. The two inscriptions of Manadev mention the construction of Tribikram Vishnumurti temples at Lazimpat and Teel Ganga in the name of Rajyavati in 467 A.D. Rajyavati seemed to have been so much shocked that she did not survive long after Dharmadev's death. But Manadev's dedication and devotion to his mother led him to construct temples in his mother's name,

The patricidal case of Manadev is put forward for further research on the part of historians. Mr. Vajracharya has also

pointed out that Dharmadev's death was a mysterious one (B.S: 2030 22). This article is not aimed at maligning the image of Manadev. The contribution of Manadev in maintaining the national integrity, upgrading the economic life, art, architecture and literature must be highly appreciated. Besides, Manadev was one of the great Licchavi rulers of Nepal.

This event reveals another very important thing i.e. the sacrifice of Dharmadev for the sake of the common welfare of the people. King Dharmadev could have sacrificed any other person. But as a great king he preferred to sacrifice himself. This is an unprecedented and exemplary sacrifice of a king for the noble cause, that is, the welfare of the state, which will remain quite fresh in the memory of the people for ever.

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Breast Feeding in Nepal: Religious and Culture Beliefs

Sudha Paneru

Introduction

It is commonly known that there is wide publicity and propaganda for the encouragement of bottle-feeding in most of the developing countries of the world. Unlike in developing countries, life in the developed countries is more complex, the standard of living is high, and the feeling of solidarity is less prevalent. The developed countries have achieved the kind of modernisation-wherein human life has changed from homogeneity to heterogeneity and from solidarity to isolationism.

In Nepali society, breast-feeding, in one way or another, has wider socio-religious explanations, attitudes, norms and values by which the continuity of breast-feeding is stressed and exhibited. Moreover, bottle-feeding to Nepali children may not be well suited so far as our socio-economic framework is concerned. Because of the poor economic status, people cannot afford the high price of bottle-feeding in Nepal, but it is gaining ground only among some of the affluent families in the form of fun and fashion and in some cases it has become necessity. But so far as rural areas are concerned, it can be fairly said that most of the mothers of rural Nepal have not even heard about bottle-feeding practices.

Above all, in this paper, I am going to argue that breast-feeding is more economical, natural, and socially accepted practice among all the Nepali mothers. In addition to this, breast-feeding in Nepal is culturally patterned, socially well accepted and ritually sanctioned (Bennett 1977, Bista 1967, Dahal 1979, Paneru 1980).

The nutritional value of breast-milk has productive capacity against infection, and spacing value to a certain point makes breast feeding the primary prescription for fighting against malnutrition, infections and encouraging child spacing.

*This paper was presented at International Workshop on "Nutrition and the Development of the Child" sponsored by COSTED, UNICEF, IBRO and UGC at M.S. University of Baroda, January 8-15, 1982.

It shows that children under the age of 5, who are experiencing rapid growth, are therefore vulnerable. The main immediate causes of death in the above cases are diarrhoeal disorders, dehydration, pneumonia, tuberculosis and respiratory diseases although malnutrition is an important underlying cause. In most cases reported illness coupled with malnutrition result in stunting. It is feared that such children may not be able to achieve their full intellectual potential.

Demographic Background

Nepal is a land-locked mountainous country sandwiched between the two big neighbours, China and India. It is estimated that in 1981 the population of Nepal will be about 14.3 million and for some time to come the population is expected to be growing at the rate of at least 2.3 percent per year. 96% of the people are rural and live in hamlets and scattered settlements with varying degree of dispersion. Literacy is limited to 19.2% of which female literacy is only about 5.2 percent.

Nepal along with many other developing countries has a young population, 42% being under the age of 15 years and 19% under the age of 6 years (1971 census). The demographic sample survey 1974/75 of Nepal reports the adjusted crude birth rate (CBR) 44.7 which is 1.8 points higher than the estimate of the 1971 Census of Central Bureau of Statistics. The infant mortality rate (IMR) is estimated 240 per thousand live births in the nutrition Survey 1967. Though this rate is a little bit exaggerated, it can be said that IMR is between 150-200 per thousand in Nepal.

The census of 1971 shows that children constituted 37.3 percent of the urban population, and in the rural sector the proportion of children was slightly higher, i.e. 40.6 percent. Though the average annual growth of child population slightly decreased from 2.46 percent during 1952/54-1961 to 2.22 percent during 1961/1971.

Breast-Feeding in Nepal

Breast-feeding is universal, easily initiated and carried out without effort by almost all village mothers. Breast-milk is the most natural food of each and every species of mammal. Nature starts preparation of food for the young one long before it is born. The preparation is complete just before birth and milk comes out when the baby suckles it. Breast-milk is the

single adequate food provided by nature till the baby is able to chew and eat other semi-solid food, which corresponds to about 6 months of age.

Breast-milk is still the main food for infants of rural Nepal. During the immediate post-partum the mothers with the new-born baby is given special food 3-4 times a day. This practice continues even to 3-4 months in well-off sections of the population. The food items that are usually given are ghee, rice, sugar and molassas, meat and milk if they can afford. This food stuff helps for production of breast-milk and the mother can breast-feed her child easily. Again the other item of food especially given during the immediate postpartum is Juwanokojhol (cumin seeds). This is the soup made of rice flour, ghee, cumin seeds, ginger and salt. It is commonly believed it helps for production of breast-milk.

The population of Nepal consists of many ethnic groups living in their own norms of culture. The weaning time is usually 5 months for a girl and 6 months for a boy. After this a ceremony called anna prāsan (the rice feeding ceremony) is performed and the solid food is introduced.

In the isolated rural area, breast-milk and survival of a new born is synonymous. The mother is in most of the cases does not know the other way to feed her new born except breast feeding. In case of death of mother a close woman or relative who is lactating will take care of the new born. If the breast milk is not enough for the baby the cows' or goats' milk is substituted.

Nepal also imports baby food and tin milk. Commercial milk formulas are available in attractive packets with pictures of healthy babies. Many of these mothers are naturally attracted by these pictures. They think their own babies will attain the same size as in the pictures if they are bottle-fed. If there is not sufficient breast-milk for some reason, the mother rather than making serious effort to continue breast feeding, switches over easily to available commercial formula.

However, these Nepal Fertility Survey 1976 should be taken with cautions. We exactly do not know the socio-economic backgrounds of women selected for the interview. At the same time these data are not significant statistically.

Table 1

The percentage of women who breast-fed for 24 months or more in the last close birth interval-by demographic and background variables confined to women with two or more live births including any current pregnancy whose last birth interval exceeded 32 months and whose child survived at least 24 months.

<u>Current age</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
15-24	79.7
25-34	82.1
35-44	82.1
45-49	88.0
<u>Number of Children ever born</u>	
3	87.5
3	83.1
4	84.1
5 +	88.4
<u>Regional Residence</u>	
Hill	87.1
Terai	78.0
Mountain	78.6
<u>Dependent Education</u>	
No Schooling	83.1
Some Schooling	71.2
<u>Husband's Education</u>	
No Schooling	83.6
Some Schooling	77.1
All	82.7

Source: Nepal Fertility Survey 1976, HMG, Ministry of Health.

The findings of Nepal Fertility Survey 1976 show that 17 percent of eligible women do not breast-feed their children. The proportion of breast-feeding for 24 months or more is lower for women in Terai (78%) and Mountains (78.6%) than in the hills (87%). It is rather not at all encouraging to note that women with some formal education have lower proportion who breast-fed for 24 months or more in contrast to those with no education.

There is a trend among the young or new mothers to avoid breast feeding as is evident from Table 1 which shows that between age 15-24, 20.3% women did not breast-feed their babies. However, from the above data it seems that Nepali women also have been quick enough to pick up the virus of modernisation in such an area as breast-feeding. Remarkably few babies in the western world are breast-fed. Prof. Malla writes, "In the United States, it is reckoned that since 1969 less than 25% of babies are ever put to the breast at all. In the United Kingdoms, where the National Survey of 1946 showed 60% of infants being breast-fed to 1 month, 42% to 3 months and 30% to 6 months.

The study done by the students of Institute of Medicine as a part of their community diagnosis shows the following pattern on duration of breast-feeding in Khopasi Village Panchayat in Kavre district of Nepal.

During the field study, it was found out that a child of 6 years was still breast-fed. Table 2 shows us that a high percentage of Nepali women still breast feed their children.

Table 2
Duration of Breast-Feeding

<u>Years</u>	<u>Total No. of persons</u>	<u>%</u>
0-1 year	1	15
1-2	68	32.7
1-3	103	49.5
More than 3 years	19	9.1
Until replaced by Another baby	17	8.1
Total -		208

Source: Seminar on Breast-feeding practices in Nepal, HMG/MCH 1980.

Cultural and Religious Beliefs in Relation to Breast-Feeding

The commonly used Nepali terms doodh ko bhāra and nau dhārā doodh² signify the loyalties of an individual towards his or her mother. Not only this, if one goes into depth, these factors have also wider socio-cultural explanations. Similarly, the term ama ko doodh khayako indicates the individual's power and prosperity by virtue of his or her mother's breast-milk. It is strongly felt by all the Nepali people when they are grown up that they have to repay their mother's milk.

Prof. Malla (1980:45-46) writes, "In our culture Breast is best" is not a new slogan. We have in Upanishad, the sentence Matri Devi Bhawa (be devoted to your mother). It shows the importance of mother since she is the one who has given birth to the children and who has gradually brought them up by feeding them the milk from their own breast.

Mother, the possessor of breast-milk, is worshipped as Goddess Durga, the mother of universe. In Susruta Sanhita (p. 45) mother's milk is described as: the milk of a woman is delicious, light, digestible and refreshing, etc. It is also suggested to pray in the following manner while feeding the child,

Oh, lady! in order to increase the strength of your baby let the four oceans always flow milk into your breast. May your child get long life by drinking the milk which is the heavenly nectar just as the gods are immortal by drinking amrita.

One further quotation from Susruta:

Oh, lady! a child must drink mother's milk for it's physical development. It is only when the mother's milk will not be available that some other means such as engaging a wet nurse may be adopted.^x

Breast-feeding is one of the most important indicators of the relationship that is established among the endogamous caste group, that is, if two children (a boy and a girl of exogamous group) are breast-fed by the same mother, marriage between these children is never possible. The blood relation in Nepal which is called ragat-ko-nata³ is synonymously practised with the doodh-ko-nata.⁴

According to Bennet (1977: 95), women explain mother's ability to give milk by saying "god would not create a child without providing its due share of food." This expresses the sense of biological dependence between the mother and her nursing infant, which causes them to be perceived as a single organic and hence ritual unit.

People in Salyan consider mother's milk is extremely chokho or pure food (Paneru, 1980). They even suggested that feces and urine of breast-fed babies are not as much polluting as those of adults. In the process of separation of the child from the mother and her milk, the child becomes more and more vulnerable to infection and consequently more and more involved in the ritual means of purification.

The end of the nursing relationship between mother and son is ritualized when the mother feeds her son with dahi (i.e. (yoghurt) before he sets off with marriage party to bring back the bride. Among the Hindu groups, i.e., the Brahman and Chhetris of Jumla region, the groom actually sucks his mother's breast at this ceremony. Symbolically, this is not only expressing his gratitude to his mother for feeding him with her breast-milk but also promising her to place a daughter-in-law at her disposal for all times to come (Bennett, 1977: 403).

If a mother of the child dies, it is the common belief among the rural people that the child either will die or may become weak or get some sort of incapacibilities since it could not get the mother's milk and love. Such children in Nepali society are considered tuhuro (helpless).

Breast-feeding in Nepal can be interpreted on religious grounds - the duties of adult descendants towards the mother are directly related with mother's breast. As such, several ritual adjustments are made by the son to perform duties towards the living or dead mother in a year. The shradha⁵ and matatirtha day (mother's day) are but a few examples among these ritual performances.

Usually the eldest son must leave the milk in the name of his mother during the period of mourning which may last for one full year following her death. This is considered as a pious act according to the Hindu mythology. Sons do so in the belief that whosoever follows this custom will be able to repay the mother's milk which he had taken in his early childhood.

Hindus consider the cow as gai mata (cow mother) simply because it gives milk which is being taken at large by people.



In the same way Nepali people never eat meat of the female goat if he/she is fed by her milk. The female goat is treated here as the symbolic mother of the child.

The above statements show us how the religious significance of mother's breast is sanctified and glorified in the Nepali society. How strongly the Newar community adheres to the principles of repaying one's mother's breast milk is clearly envisaged on the occasion of the marriage ceremony. A suitable example of this has been cited by Prof. Bista (1967: 20) who states that "on the day before the marriage ceremony takes place, a pathi, that is about a gallon of milk with some molasses and cardamom is sent to the girl's home as a token of gratitude to the girl's mother". This ceremony called durdai is a symbolic act of repaying the girl's mother for suckling the girl during her infancy.

Importance of mothers milk is also evidenced during the wedding ceremony of the various ethnic groups of Nepal, (Bista, 1967) for example Magars (p. 61) there is a system of payment of one and half rupees to the girl's mother called kakh choraune (separated from the lap). Among the Sunwar and Jirel tribes of Nepal, (p. 73) there is a typical custom of repayment of mother's breast milk i.e. a bottle of rakshi (liquor) a leg of goat and two and half rupees are given to the bride's mother. In a Muslim society a Muslim can marry almost any other girl except in the own sibling group (p. 154). The only partners who are technically unacceptable are those who have suckled the same breasts.

Conclusion

Thus what I feel important to stress is that Nepali women need not be encouraged to breast-feed their children, simply because this custom is well-practiced by all the sections of people all over the country. However, the nutritional status of our women, especially from the poorer sector, is not satisfactory. (Nutrition 101 - RSA 1979). This becomes even more critical at such crucial periods of life as during pregnancy and lactation. This is due to a variety of social and cultural factors and traditions. The most important persons in a family are adult males given the fact that their health and survival are of greater significance for the continued social and biological functioning of the family than the survival of particular child, the mother or a wife. Women generally eat last after the men and children are fed, and do not naturally get an adequate share of the total available food items especially in situations of scarcity. As a rule, they voluntarily provide better food to the children and the menfolk. Inadequate dietary intake, mainly due to poverty, makes an individual more prone to infection and thus

decreases his power of resistance to overcome it. A large proportion of the cases of morbidity and mortality from infectious diseases could really be attributed to malnutrition.

Malnutrition, as such is particularly severe among women and children. Women in general and lactating mothers in particular tend to be under-nourished. This increases the mortality rate among them. It also has an adverse effect on the health and mortality of the babies to be born. The foetus in the womb and the child at the breast are both remarkably influenced by the nutritive elements in their mothers.

Poverty is a important limiting factor for buying enough food, but all the rampant malnutrition is not all due to poverty. There is wide spread ignorance about the essentials of child care including nutritional requirements and the common food that supplies the necessary nutrients. Most mothers and health workers have little idea of how much food a child needs for adequate growth. There are several cheaper items full of vitamins and proteins which are within the reach of the poorest of the poor, if proper communication is made with them.

A staff reporter of the Times of India (April 21, 1981) points out that pediatricians claim that there are 10 million cases of "bottle baby diseases" in the world each year. A million infant deaths can be treated by promoting breast-feeding, what has perturbed those championing breast-feeding is the aggressive salesmanship of the multinationals who are marketing baby food with the same aplomb they use for selling soaps, stocking or lipsticks.

The protection and promotion of breast-feeding practice should be the single most important action to improve the health of child. One public health expert has estimated that if breast-feeding were encouraged in developing countries some 10 million children will be saved from diarrhoeal diseases and severe malnutrition each year. As living conditions changed, as woman enter the work force, more emphasis will have to be placed on child care. Economic resources and social support for breast-feeding will have to be developed although not yet a serious problem in Nepal.

Recent research (studies in Family Planning volume 12, 1981) has supported traditional beliefs that breast-feeding prevents conception. This is itself an important reason to encourage mothers to continue breast-feeding considering Nepal's population growth is relatively high. This can provide a safety valve to check population growth in Nepal.

Thus breast-feeding has not only the nutritious value for the growth of a child but also the socio-religious values attached to it.

NOTES

- L. The burden of milk to be repaid by the children when they grow up.
2. It is believed that there are nine springs of milk coming out from mother's nipple.
3. Blood relationship.
4. The kinship relationship that is maintained on the basis of mother's breast milk.
5. A ceremony that is conducted every year by the son in memory of his father and mother on the day of his parent's death.

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The Concept of Economy in a Peasant Society: A Case Study of the Athpahariya Rais in East Nepal

Dilli R. Dahal*

Introduction

Anthropologists have long recognized that even the simple economies not only fulfil biological needs but also contribute to the social needs as determined by socially prescribed forms of kinship, hospitality rules, moral values, prestige requirements, etc. In fact, the economic system and the society are so much interrelated that it is not possible to comprehend fully an economic system without reference to the total culture of which is a part (Malinowski, 1922; Herskovits, 1952; Firth, 1946; Polanyi, 1957; Bohannan and Dalton, 1962). On the other hand, there is a great debate regarding the subject matter of economic anthropology (see LeClair & Schneider, 1968). This debate has given two schools of thought in economic anthropology—the substantivists and the formalists. Each school of thought has its own views to justify for the adequacy of its theory and to explain the economy of primitive and peasant societies. This paper has two basic objectives: i) to analyze the concepts of economics as they apply to a group of people living in East Nepal and (ii) to synthesize the substantivist and the formalist theories and to perceive them as being complementary rather than in opposition.

The particular ethnic group I have studied is the Athpahariya Rais,¹ an Indo-Mongoloid group living in the Dhankuta district, East Nepal.² The Athpahariyas are a small group of a Tibeto-Burman language speaking people, about 4,000 in number, who are distributed in four village panchayats³ in Dhankuta district, East Nepal. They live in the highland Hill region about 4,500-5,000 feet above sea level with relatively poor soil and little rainfall. They practice a shamanistic tradition as their religion.

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Subsistence Economy

As in most Nepali villages, the main source of livelihood among the Athpahariyas is agriculture supplemented locally by animal husbandry, small trade, and wage labour. A major portion of the agricultural lands consists of dry fields or pakho where the potential for irrigation is minimal. The irrigable land or khet is limited and lies mostly around the river basins in small strips and patches. The principal crops grown in the dry uplands are maize, millet, wheat, buckwheat, lentils and a variety of beans, and, in the low lands, basically rice and wheat.

The agricultural calendar begins in March-April and ends in November-December covering about nine months. During this nine months period there are at least three growing seasons: the rainy season, the autumn season and the winter season. During the rainy season, the local variety of maize, rice and tomatoes, chillies, pumpkins, cucumber and a few other vegetables are grown. In the autumn, millet, improved variety of maize, buckwheat, lentils, soyabeans, groundnuts, tobacco, tomatoes and raddishes are grown. In the winter, however, only wheat and a limited quantity of improved variety of rice (as this variety of rice needs plenty of water) are grown, supplemented by some vegetables such as potatoes, onions, and tomatoes. The crops of the rainy season are cultivated during and after the monsoon, i.e. between March and April and harvested during July and August. Autumn crops are started in the third week of September and the harvest is ready in the last week of November. The two main winter season crops are cultivated in the last week of December and January and harvested up until the last week of March.

The staple crop is maize. The subsidiary crops are millet, rice, wheat and several varieties of lentils and beans. Millet is used for preparation of enka (home made beer) and umaling (country liquor) as well as for food. However, a good deal of millet is grown for beer brewing. Millet beer is not only a nutritionally valuable drink but also the drink which they offer to guests, to household and village divinities and is indispensable for any ritual or festive occasion. It is also a common drink when labour has to be mobilized during special occasions like marriage or death rituals, house construction, and also during the peak agricultural season. Rice is mostly consumed on special occasions or at festivals. In other words, rice is a prestigious food. On the other side, the Athpahariyas consider maize as better food for heavy work which they have to do every day. So in terms of choice, an Athpahariya prefers to eat maize rather than rice and places heavy emphasis on maize cultivation. Moreover, they use maize in a number of ways:

first, it is the staple food. Second, the maize husk is used as fodder for pigs, fowls and for milk-cows. Even spoiled grains are utilized. Third, bread prepared from maize flour is used for snacks, and in times of food shortage, it is eaten as a meal by itself. The Athpahariyas say that if there is maize in the house the whole family survives. But due to influence of neighbouring Hindu groups such as Brahmins and Newars for whom rice is both the staple and prestigious food, the Athpahariyas are slowly changing their values and are placing emphasis on irrigated lands where rice can be grown.

Almost every family or household has its own land, own grain stores and a separate family budget for the whole year. A "family" means all members of a household who eat at the same hearth and share in all household affairs. In other words, the family is the unit of residence, worship, land ownership and use and production and consumption.

Agricultural work is done by a family as a group. Excluding children below five years, old people and the physically disabled, all household members participate in economic production. There is an average of 3.6 adults (between 15 and 65 years of age) in an Athpahariya household. Thus, in many cases, the family members handle all activities from ploughing the field to harrowing the clods, weeding the maize and transplanting millet and paddy seedlings. Though adults of both sexes share work in many cases, the men plough fields, thatch roofs and construct houses and cowsheds. Moreover, the role of leadership is always played by the senior adult male in the family. He makes decision in economic matters and supervises family affairs.

In the active agricultural season, particularly during the planting and harvesting, help from other hands is sometimes needed. People help each other on a reciprocal basis or employ labourers on daily wages. Usually the exchange of reciprocal labour among the Athpahariyas is based on specialisation. Normally a woman's labour is repaid by a woman and a man's labour by a man. There is usually competition among families as to who will cultivate the land first. So those families which have enough manpower of their own mobilize their own internal labour and cultivate the land. Cooperation in such situation is also organized along the lines of consanguinity and affinity.

Animal husbandry is considered as important as agriculture by the Athpahariyas. Cows, oxen, buffaloes, goats, fowls and especially pigs are of importance. Pork is not only health-giving and tasty but the sacrifice of pigs is necessary in all kinds of religious activities, pig's meat is considered pure

and pleasing to the divinities. Pigs also figure prominently in the marriage payments that follow a wedding ceremony. It is to be noted that the number of pigs raised by Athpahariyas is proportionately equal with the number of festivals and rituals they are going to perform in a year. Normally an Athpahariya household raises at least three pigs annually as there are three big festivals to be celebrated each year and as many pigs as they assume they will need for other socio-religious activities. Additional pigs may be raised as they can bring cash to the Athpahariyas when needed. So the pigs raised are a form of stored wealth.

Land Tenure

Up to 1968 the pattern of land-holding which existed traditionally among the Athpahariyas was the kipat system (see Regmi, 1963: 29-30). An Athpahariya Rai obtained right of ownership to kipat land by virtue of his membership in a clan group and especially in the localized clan group. There are twelve clans⁴ among the Athpahariyas. Long long ago (no body knows the exact date) each clan was given a fixed area of kipat land within their territory. So the land-holding of an Athpahariya Rai today depends on how much his clan or lineage members have been segmented. If there is less segmentation in a particular clan or lineage group, bigger is the land-holding in that particular clan or lineage group. In other words, a particular household may hold a certain amount of land depending upon the segmentation of its lineage members. In the past, at the time of family fission, every male member of a family had a right to an equal share of land as well as to other household belongings owned by his father. The land was equally divided among sons leaving a similarly sized portion for the parents to maintain themselves in their old age. Supposing there are three sons, each son would get a quarter of land and the remaining quarter went to the parents. Finally, when the parents die, their share of land is also given to the son who looked them in their old age. It was the way the segmentation of kin followed in each generation and thus land was fragmented each time. However, land and people are both important for wealth and prestige and power within the Athpahariya society. So when there was surplus of land, some clan members even invited people from outside of their community, gave land to them to maintain their group size. For example, one Yakha Rai (out side of their community) is said to have come in Chuliban (in my field area) more than a century ago. Later, he was integrated into the Athpahariya society by the Hombarak clan and given a share of their kipat land. Now this solitary Yakha's descendents comprise five families, and the kipat is shared equally among the five brothers. On the other side, the

two families of two other ethnic groups, the Dungbali Rais and Limbus, who were also integrated into the Athpahariya Rai society, were not given the share of kipat land in the same area. It was mainly because they were in the Athpahariya territory just four decades ago, and that time, there was practically no cultivable land to offer them.

Today, there is no kipat system as such and the Athpahariya Rais maintain their kipat land as Raika.⁵ But when one works the traditional kipat holdings of the Athpahariyas, these kipat holdings have also been maximally fragmented due to an increase of population, as well as sales and mortgage. Those Athpahariyas who hold a minimal amount of land and who also cannot afford money to purchase land elsewhere, also cultivate others' land on a share-crop basis (equal share of entire crop) or on a rental basis (a fixed rent is paid). However, those Athpahariyas, who still hold larger amounts of land in their name and who have enough members to support their own group, hold power as well as status in the society.

Cash Economy and Market Exchange

It is noted among the Athpahariyas that during the rainy season when there is high demand for labour there is also acute shortage of grain. So in this period there are very few people who are willing to work in the fields for cash. So those people who need extra hands must have extra grains to mobilize labour. In some Athpahariya houses there is a good stock of stored grain and this grain is utilized to mobilize labour in such a period. So money loses its function as a medium of payment in the peak agricultural season. In this period grain can easily mobilize labour and this is a highly liquid form of capital. A labourer knows that he can buy grain out of cash but it takes time for him to go to the market and to convert cash into grain. Paradoxically, there is another reason why a labourer prefers grain to cash. That is to say cash is too widely useful as a medium of payment in the long run. If he goes to market with cash he might spend it on luxury items such as cigarettes, soaps, tea, etc, or he might buy a few glasses of millet beer or country liquor. At the same time he is also worried that if he has cash in hand, his neighbours will be able to borrow money more easily. So he feels that if he gets grain he will utilize it for the whole family and hence derive maximum satisfaction. So money is not always used as a measurement of value or a good medium of payment. In other words, money in some circumstances is prevented from being "all purpose money" because it has low liquidity in the short term and is too liquid in the long run (also note Polanyi, 1958, and Dalton, 1961).

On the other side, most of the products of the Athpahariyas are for their own consumption. As the Athpahariya Rais' territory is a grain deficit area, grains are not cash crops for them. However, vegetables like tomatoes, chillies, potatoes and other seasonal crops like sweet potato and tobacco are partly for their own consumption and partly for sale. The weekly market place is available to transform these products into cash. However, of all seasonal crops, tomatoes are the most important cash crops among the Athpahariyas. It is the only cash crop in the area which provides income throughout the year. Surplus tomatoes are sold mostly in the Dhankuta bazar area or the weekly market area (located 2-5 miles away from the Athpahariya settlements) and sometimes in the bigger market towns like Dharan bazar (about 20 miles away from the Athpahariya settlements) as well and sold at even at higher prices. In the field area, some of the Athpahariya households used to earn more than 1,000 to 1,500 rupees (100 to 150 dollars; one American dollar was equivalent to 10 Nepali rupees when I was in the field) per annum from the sale of tomatoes alone. It was one of the strategies of Athpahariyas to relieve land pressure by growing a high value cash crops, like tomatoes in the area.

Athpahariyas's economy is not a marketless economy and is closer to an economy with "peripheral markets" as Bohannan and Dalton define them in Markets in Africa (1962). However, the money in the market situation is "all purpose money" among the Athpahariyas. On the other hand, their economy is not fully governed by the market principle of Western society. They never produce anything looking forward to the market situation and only the surplus products come to the market. My use of the term "surplus" here has the simple meaning which refers to an excess of domestic and agricultural products in relation to the needs of a particular Athpahariya Rai household. Sometimes surplus are simply distributed to neighbours and relatives. So the value placed on goods or services is not necessarily determined by the supply of any good or service and relative demand for it. Moreover, both social as well as economic factors come forward in the market concept of the Athpahariyas and the market not only fulfils economic needs but also conserves social functions (see below).

The term "market" refers among the Athpahariyas to the institutionalized locus of exchange, the market place with its booth and traders. However, to run small shops at home does not fulfil the notion of an institutionalized form of market though this type of shop runs on the clear notion of profit.

The Athpahariyas sell their local products mostly in the weekly market which takes place in a fixed location near the Dhankuta bazar area. On every Thursday about 1,5000 to 2,000 people of the surrounding villages assemble at this weekly market and provide a substantial numbers of customers for the petty traders who set up their shops in the different corners of the area. This weekly market plays an important role in providing the daily necessities of the surrounding villages.

Three main types of activity occur in this weekly market: i. the sale of local products (green vegetables, grains, clarified butter, honey, etc), ii. the sale of goods that are brought from the outside (kerosene, mustard oil, soap, spices, blankets, etc), and iii. the sale of livestock and meat. One of the interesting things noted here is that there is a relation between the commodity and the walking distance of the seller. Farmers selling their own products come from villages within a few miles distance to half day's walk but the sellers of blankets, handicrafts and other items imported from outside come from 2-3 days walking distance. The cash earned from the sale of local products is again utilized to obtain a variety of consumer goods like mustard oil, kerosene, grain matches, soaps, spices, and other such commodities from the market. This type of economy is clearly a peasant economy which resembles the pattern of mixed subsistence and cash crop economy as described by Fredrik Barth in his study of Darfur (1967).

The author also noted that this weekly market had some effects on the life of the Athpahariyas and a socio-economic change which was taking place among them. These effects were:

- i. The most important effect or the function of the market was the increase in the use and the circulation of money. The urban economy reaches out to the village in many ways. Things like cigarettes, kerosene, cooking oil, sugar, spices have entered the Athpahariyas' life. An Athpahariya who never takes tea at home, drinks a cup of tea when he goes to the weekly market. The people have more choices in their buying. Lower prices and greater selection encourage villagers to compare the prices of many items in different shops. In other words, the more money circulates and people can be more efficient in profit maximization, with the wider contact with the supply and demand.
- ii. The market as a meeting place for relatives and friends helps the Athpahariyas to hear news of their relatives and neighbours. Sometimes this gives Athpahariyas a neutral ground for mediating disputes among them. The market is

also one of the places where young Athpahariya boys and girls meet each other, sometimes dance together the whole night, clandestine sexual relations occur which eventually leads to marriage. On the other hand, the tendency to spend money on drink in a public place often leads to arguments, which leads to further disputes. Finally, market is the place where they come into contact with other ethnic groups easily which sometimes brings new economic opportunities (when I was in the field a Newar trader opened up a lime-factory where a lot of Athpahariyas were employed; sometimes they also get monetary loans from other ethnic groups), and probably for new chances for conflict (e.g., when they cannot repay their loan back in time).

Considering the theoretical issue, Bohannan's and Dalton's (1962, pp. 1-26) two spheres of economy: non-cash sphere and cash market sphere can also be noted while dealing with the concept of economy of the Athpahariyas. In the non-cash sphere their production is internally controlled and is not subject to market fluctuations. In other words, fluctuations in prices affect neither the value of the productive factors nor the level of production. So by isolating oneself from the market principle, an individual might forego some occasional gain when the price is high. But, in compensation, he reduces the risk of loss when the price is down. Second, an Athpahariya puts priority on meeting social obligations to fellow villager's moral value of distributing surplus to his neighbours and relatives as opposed to maximization of profit for individual family. In other words, giving priority to social obligations prevents the drain on resources which would manifest itself were the individual to sell for profit in the larger market.

The cash sphere was restricted as long as the villagers had low demand for things bought with ease, so the boundary between non-cash and cash was traditionally easy to maintain. Now with more demand on consumer goods from the cash sphere, the boundary is breaking down. We see the fear of this break down in the fact that people worry about their own tendency to spend on luxury goods if they have cash in hand when they go to market. In the traditional system, cash in fact did not have great liquidity because most things were provided within the village economy. As demand for things brought in, the market grows cash crops and threatens to impinge on the non-cash sphere economy.

Form of Reciprocity

Reciprocity, according to Polanyi (1957), involves exchange of goods between people who are bound in non-market, non-

hierarchical relationship to each other. In other words, to Polanyi, reciprocity between individuals integrates the economy only if symmetrical organized structures, such as a system of kinship groups are given. Sahlins (1965) distinguishes three forms of reciprocity: Generalized, Balanced, and Negative and proposes a type of correlation between type of reciprocity and social relationship, the latter being the unsociable extreme. Mauss's *The Gift* (1954) is another classic study of reciprocity where he sees gift exchange as fundamental to the relationships of individuals and groups linked by kinship ties and social obligations. However, the gift giving or the form of reciprocity among the Athpahariyas operates in a slightly different pattern from what Polanyi, Sahlins, and Mauss illustrate. Although gift giving is always morally and socially embedded among the Athpahariyas, it is not necessary that it should operate in the symmetrical order of kinship. There is no such rigidity in their societal norm that a refusal to give some gift is a refusal of friendship itself.

Among the Athpahariyas, gift-giving operates during festivals, marriage, and death rituals. Gift-giving is the prescribed form of social value when a person is morally and socially obligated to give some gift in terms of cash or kind. In such a situation, the close degree of kinship may hold good, but sometimes a distant relative can even invest more capital or goods in the form of gift to his immediate neighbour or host family. There is no such obligation that a maternal uncle must pay a certain amount of gift when his sister's son or daughter is getting married. In all the three fields: obligation to give, obligation to receive, and obligation to return, there are significant areas of choice and uncertainty and many gifts are sanctions of economic (if a person steals somebody's wife, he must give some gift to the headman or Subba excluding a certain amount of compensation to the cuckold), some gifts involve social status (see below) and some gifts are sanctions of religious beliefs and rituals (the son-in-law must give some gift to his wife's parents whenever he goes there or during certain rituals, Subba or the headman must be given some gift excluding certain items needed to please divinities). Among the Athpahariyas gift-giving takes place between individuals and not between groups.

During marriage and death, gifts, or "donations" are always recorded among the Athpahariyas. If a guest donates one rupee to his relative's or neighbour's son's or daughter's marriage, the person (the host) has to repay double the amount when his guest arranges the marriage to his son or daughter. So the form of gift-giving is not reciprocal here. The author recorded that the total value of these gifts accounted for about 19 to 25 percent of the total cost of marriage. In addition, if the daughter

of the headman of the village is going to get married, the Athpahariyas are obligated to give more gift than they give normally to other members of the society on such occasions. Similar situations prevail when death takes place among the Athpahariyas. So indirectly gift-giving on such occasions is a form of capital investment and a person who invests capital expects the return gift to be double the amount. Time is not the most important factor because a person can expect the return of his gift even after 15 years. It seems to me that the underlying principle in the "gift-giving" here is that of the interest-bearing investment of property.

On the other hand, gift-giving is seen in the perspective of social values by the Athpahariyas. They feel that they are helping a person who is in need. For them it is a social and not a monetary transactions.

Concept of Monetary Profit, Maximization and Social Values

A contrasting relationship of wealth and social values exists side by side among the Athpahariyas. In some situation, monetary profit is the primary goal.

To give an example, one finds one to four liquor shops in every Athpahariya Rai village which function illegally. The liquor shops are run mostly by the Athpahariya women. Women distill two kinds of liquor: home made enka or beer and umaling or country-liquor. There is a clear notion of monetary profit in this type of liquor shop. The author observed one liquor shop in detail in the village he was studying. This liquor shop was run by "Maili", the wife of the secretary of the village panchayat.

Maili did not utilize her own millet grown in the field for preparing millet beer. She knew that the extra millet stored at her house could be utilized to mobilize labour during the peak agricultural season. She used to buy about 20 to 25 kilograms of millet a week from the weekly market. It used to cost her about twenty-five rupees. Firewood, yeast for fermenting liquor and her own labour when put together it was valued roughly ten rupees to convert that millet into millet beer. She then could distill from one kilogram of millet to about two and half kilograms of millet beer.

One kilogram of millet beer used to cost about Rs. 1.20 (one rupee and twenty paise). Out of the millet she used to distill about 62 to 65 kilograms of millet beer. So from this business she used to make 100 percent profit or saved about 50

rupees a week. At the same time she used to buy about 25 to 30 bottles of local country-liquor, (as she had no time to prepare country-liquor at home) a week from a local Magar woman of the same village. One bottle of country-liquor used to cost her four rupees and she used to sell it six rupees per bottle for the retail customers. So again this business gave about 60 rupees income per week. So by selling millet beer and country-liquor she used to earn about 100 to 125 rupees a week which was enough to maintain 4-5 members of her family.

Sometimes, Athpahariyas also make long trips almost walking the whole day to sell their surplus products. These people have the clear notion of profit and do not sell their products in the local market area even if they get the same price in the bigger market. It is because the cash which they earn after making a long trip can be utilized immediately to purchase necessary consumer goods which are usually cheaper in the bigger market area. Moreover, he has some fixed places from where he gets goods on credit after paying a certain amount of cash or just delivering the goods he has carried all the way. But if one calculates the human labour in such a case, an Athpahariya is definitely losing money in the sense of monetary profit. He, however, feels that while carrying his own goods, his labour should not be taken into consideration. This is rational since there is no profitable alternative for labour. The opportunity costs are low.

In other dimension, social values are strongly embedded with wealth and prestige among the Athpahariyas. For example, marriage is an expensive affair among them and especially for the boy's family. In a normal situation, when an Athpahariya boy proposes to marry an Athpahariya girl, he has to pay the girl's parents a minimum of five pigs and about 160 kilograms of rice (excluding other items) as the bride price. This looks a mere economic transaction but for them girls are not the products to be purchased or sold. They consider such items as parts of a ritual and social and moral obligations. On the other side, when the status of a girl is high or she belongs to the daughter of the headman, the person proposes to marry her has to pay a higher bride price more than in the normal situation. So here the balance of social relationships is maintained through material gifts or money. Leach (1961: 116) has also demonstrated that among the Kachins the amount of bride price paid for a girl varies not only with the value of a woman as a wife but also with her social status value, so that where a man's wife is of higher status than he, he pays extra for that.

Another, contrasting relationship of moral values and wealth also exists among the Athpahariyas. This takes place when a

person dies unnatural death⁶ among them. It is believed that when unnatural death takes place such a person cannot go to heaven and creates troubles within the family or his close relatives. Just to get rid of such a dead spirit, there is an economic sanction. So when such death takes place, most of his belongings are buried with him. It is believed that things used or touched by the deceased in the house are contagious to members of the family. His belongings (even gold and silver) may no longer be used for any purpose or must be destroyed. At the same time, the house used by the dead should be left and the members of the family have to then build a new house for themselves. Even their own society members cannot purchase or utilize those abandoned goods due to socio-psychological fears of the dead cult. So they are forced to sell those abandoned goods only to those members who are willing to purchase them. Here the concept of wealth or the storage of wealth is not important. The Athpahariyas here maximize social values rather than economic gain.

Choice and Decision Making

In anthropology, "choice" or "decision" refers to the selection of a mode of action which can be considered, on the basis of one's evidence, as cognitively distinct from another mode of action (Howard, 1963: 434). Within this framework of definition, I find choice and decision-making, to certain extent, always operate among the Athpahariyas. To understand just the pattern of choice in agriculture, the farming pattern of the Athpahariyas is important. The range of choice of farming system, though it is complex, follows the certain prescribed form of the cropping patterns of the Athpahariyas. There are sequences of cropping patterns, following, cultivation and so on. Moreover, there is a clear prediction of the holding of the size of land and crops grown in relation to the size of their family.

The Athpahariyas hardly make any such decision that instead of planting maize they will plant millet for the sense of profit. An Athpahariya knows that maize would normally give better yield than millet even though commercially millet would be more profitable. He knows that by cultivating maize his whole family or even the livestock would survive. Moreover, he knows that where water is plentiful, paddy cultivation would give any alternative decision to change the crop patterns unless there is very high external stimuli for economic gain. He knows that if the cash crops do not give good yield also he does not have to struggle for survival. But if the subsistence crops fail or do not yield good, he has to face famine almost throughout the year.

On the other hand, Athpahariyas know that quite small changes in cropping patterns, or the time of operations, may effect other related activities such as house building, visits to market, ceremonies and so on. Moreover, complexity may arise because of the existence of uncertainties caused by variations in weather, incidence of pests, etc, if he changes the crop patterns. He knows that when he does not plant certain crops in time where he has good knowledge, there will be tremendous amounts of weed to be taken out from the field for which he needs more labour. Again a farmer knows that at certain periods it is easier to plough the fields than in certain other seasons. So when they have to make decision for alternative crops they note down all these variables and do not take risks. In addition, though he has to make quick decision which crop has to be planted or harvested first, there is however not a rigid or tight program in the operation of all crops as mentioned above.

As Sutti Ortiz (1967) notes, "the significance of the outcome of the farmer does not depend on the product itself but on the number of wants it may satisfy." (p. 173). The clear example of this type is the maize cultivation among the Athpahariyas. Though millet cultivation may give them more cash, maize satisfies the maximum number of their needs. Therefore, when discussing the rationality of decision making, "it is more significant to consider outcomes in terms of utility than in terms of quantity (Ortiz, 1967: 193). However, there is not so much individual variation in terms of choice and decision making regarding the cropping patterns among the Athpahariyas.

However, sometimes, decision for certain economic transactions is immediately made without considering any number of alternative variables. For example, many Athpahariyas need money or grain during their basic or contingency expenses such as food shortages in certain seasons or death or marriage that occurs. In such situation an Athpahariya has no alternative choice except that he has to meet these requirements immediately. His decision may not be "economical" as he borrows money or grain even in a high interest without bothering to calculate the ultimate economic loss. He scales his preferences here in terms of need. So Howard and Ortiz (1971: 218) are right to say that "it is imperative to specify the conditions under which a decision may suitably be labelled "rational" and forward that minimal conditions for rational decisions are that choices must be perceived by the decision maker as mutually exclusive; that the individual must be able to rank outcomes according to scale of preferences, etc."

Conclusion

The economy of the Athpahariyas clearly fits Firth's definition of peasant economies (1951, 87-88),

"... a system of small-scale producers, with a simple technology and equipment, often relying primarily for their subsistence on what they themselves produce. ... Such a small-scale productive organization, built upon a use of or a close relation to primary resources, has its own concomitant systems of capital accumulation and indebtedness, of marketing and distribution."

Among the Athpahariyas profit maximizing is certainly not a necessary postulate for the analysis of a producer's behaviour. Athpahariyas do not calculate the total cost of goods produced in a year by simply totalling the hours of labour and the price of resources that have gone into them. The value of a product is not always calculated in terms of profit at market prices. Fulfilling family and social needs is commonly more important than maximizing profit in cash. They give money and food for festivals, marriage and death rituals, etc. Women are never considered a commodity though a man pays to obtain a wife. In this respect, the Athpahariyas' economy is morally and socially deeply embedded.

On the other hand, while money in some situations is "all purpose money" in other situations it has only limited utility. Nonetheless, the Athpahariyas now live in the monetarized world. So a carefully reasoned strategy for maximizing social or economic benefits takes account of monetary consideration and even in gift giving there is a latent desire to get the maximum possible returns or benefits. There is a powerful motive to accumulate wealth, for success brings prestige and power.

It is not my intention here to enter into the debate between the Substantivists' and the Formalists' concerning what is "economics" itself, however my material on the Athpahariya Rais relates to these issues. Formalists are right to say that people maximize utility but I think they are wrong to say that the economic principles of the market are universally true. For example, the Athpahariyas do not maximize material or monetary goals during death rituals and particularly when a person dies unnatural death. In death rituals, the Athpahariyas are more concerned to fulfil their moral obligations than to maximize their material gains. In other words, we should know a great deal more about those properties of an economic system that are universal in character. Substantivists are right to say that primitive and peasant economies are socially and morally embedded and they do

not always look for monetary or material profit. But they are wrong to say that primitive economies do not at times maximize material and monetary goals. Moreover, their argument that economic theory is built only for a specific kind of economy - that is the market economy which is based on the analysis of price (Dalton, 1961, Bohannon and Dalton, 1962) and can only be used to analyze such economies is not supported by the case of Athpahariyas. The economic structure of the Athpahariyas clearly shows that their economy encompasses both a market and a non-market sphere. They often maximize material goals and have a clear notion of profit and loss and are wary about their possessions. On the other hand they also often are concerned to maximize social utility not material profit. So while analyzing the concept of economics among the Athpahariyas I feel that the Substantivists' and Formalists' views of economics need to be fused with each other.

My position in this paper is, however, with the third group, Economic Anthropologists like Firth (1946, 1951), Herskovits (1952), and Dewey (1962) who think that the two views of economics are complementary and that Formalist theory at the most general level can be reduced to non-market societies. My materials clearly show that Athpahariyas want to reconcile both worlds: on the one hand they want to maximize material rewards and on the other hand they want to satisfy their moral and social values without considering ultimate material economic gain. In this way the Athpahariya Rais try to make a balance of social and economic relationships.

In this paper, I have tried to synthesize Formalist and Substantivist theory seeing them as complementary rather than as in opposition. From Substantivist theory comes an awareness of the importance of social and cultural values in determining a people's economic goals; the embeddedness of the economy. From Formalist theory comes the idea of maximizing.

Formalist theory has most commonly been applied to market economics and is directly applicable to the behaviour of the Athpahariyas when they operate in the market sphere. In the non-market, socially most embedded aspects of their economy operate. They are allocating material goods in order to maximize social and moral values. Formal theory is applicable to this analysis as long as it is remembered that "utility" need not be measured in material terms and that people can strive to satisfy social as well as material needs. This description of the economy of the Athpahariyas demonstrates the analytical power of both schools of economics. Each contributed to the total picture rather than yielding conflicting pictures of the economy.

NOTES

1. The term "Rai" does not signify one particular ethnic group, rather ten to eighteen ethnic groups are called Rai. Groups like the Athpahariya, Bantawa, Chamling, Thulung, Kulung and so on each with their own distinct language and culture are treated as if they were a single group.
2. Materials on the Athpahariya Rais were collected from the periods between November, 1973 to April, 1974. The study on the Athpahariya Rais was made possible from the grant of Research Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Nepal, where I work as a staff member of the Center.
3. A panchayat refers an administrative unit, divided into nine wards, a unit of taxation of the Revenue Department and panchayat boundaries are clearly fixed. In Nepal, the population of a village panchayat is usually more than one thousand and less than ten thousand.
4. These twelve clan names are: Hombarak, Chara, Pansung, Mangbung, Fhokim, Khawaduk, Lenksuwa, Chilinge, Kimdang, Charingme, Chongden, and Patre.
5. Land which the State retains under its ownership and taxes the private individuals who operate it. (Regmi, 1963).
6. There are two types of death among the Athpahariyas: Natural death, and Unnatural death. Natural death is called an ordinary death where a person dies without injury. Unnatural death occurs in various ways: suicide, falling out of a rock or house, drowning in a river, or death in flood or landslide, child birth or murder.

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Labour Participation and Fertility of Rural Women in Nepal

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I. Introduction

Nepal, as being a patrilineal society, is generally characterized by the domination of women by men. As such, it is widely believed that productive activities are mainly carried out by men. Women are generally seen as being confined to household activities only, such as looking after the house, child rearing, food processing and collecting firewood. Women are not thought to be directed by economic and social networks of the nation. However, as will be shown in this paper this is a false image. As pointed out by Judith Bruce (1976: 291) "... for many women in the developing world their role as mothers is only one among many political, professional, religious, commercial and community interests that engage their energies."

Still, the belief persists, generally the desirable sex for the first child in Nepal is son. Even handicaped male children are considered as a sign of pride and prestige, because of their role of continuity of lineality. In rural Nepal, education is generally not initiated by the parents for the female child. According to a census of primary student enrollment in 1977, "out of the 0.77 million primary students of 77.9 percent were boys and 22.1 percent were girls. The reason for this is the negative attitude of the parents toward the education of their daughter as being unproductive." (Child Welfare Coordination Committee/ UNICEF, 1979/80: 18). The role of the females and their contribution in maintaining the domestic income is given little attention. However, this is not exactly the case when we go through actual labour contribution of women in rural Nepal. Beside their labour participation in household activities their labour contribution for domestic income such as in agriculture and agriculturally based activities is high compared to that of male. (Dhungel, 1975, Vaidya et. al. 1978, Shroeder and Schroeder 1979, Joshi 1980). Clearly, women's involvement in household, social, and economic activities and their relationship to the social structure as a whole cannot be neglected any more.

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The mode of lives that women are experiencing is directly related to their fertility behaviour. This, in turn, directly or indirectly affects the economic development of the nation. As noted by (Acharya 1979: 16) "with the recent emphasis on population control as a means to accelerate the economic development, the study of fertility behaviour and its impact on other aspects of life has become very important." However, no work has yet been done on this issue in Nepal.

It is very apparent in rural Nepal that the labour contribution of female is high, and similarly the labour contribution of children, especially female children, is also high. Labour force requirement in rural agricultural areas is high. Thus according to Malthus, the fertility pattern in this such social and economic situation, is most probably high. According to him, "an increase in the demand for labour increased the proportion of person marrying and reduced the average age at marriage. Furthermore, this change in marriage pattern led in turn to an increase in fertility" (quoted in Heer, 1966: 425).

II. Labour Contributions of Females: Evidences

The rural women of Nepal are directly or indirectly involved in economic work, i.e. agriculture and other productive work, which contribute to family income. Women's participation in preparing grain for consumption in rural area is high. Women's role in trading and in preparing the food items like golphoki,¹ shyabazi,² and bazi (flatten rice) is well established. Women's skill in weaving sukul (hay mattresses), cloth, bamboo baskets and the colourfully designed domestic grass baskets etc. cannot be considered unproductive either. A consideration of the economic pattern of Gamcha (a Newar settlement situated south west of Kathmandu Valley at the foot hill of Champadevi Hills shows that women are the prominent generators of family incomes³ (Dhungel 1975). The households possesses little land and the male members of the household are involved in agriculture for only a few weeks in the year. Male members are mostly involved in assisting women in preparing golphoki and shyabazi, getting fuel-wood and transporting prepared golphoki and shyabazi to the market. Compared to the national per capita income of Rs. 1,428.00 (\$ 120.00), the per capita income of this village is two times higher, and this mainly is due to female labour.

Another study undertaken in a Newar settlement Sanogaun situated in south-east Kathmandu Valley shows that women are intensively involved in economic activities like weaving of sukul during the slack agricultural period (Dhungel 1980).⁴ Women of different age groups, some of whom are more than 70 years old, as well as girls of 7-14, were engaged in this activity. Although some sukuls are used in the household most are sold in cities of Patan, Kirtipur, Kathmandu and Banepa.

Another study undertaken with a large sample of 1417 female from the three rural areas of Kathmandu, Kavrepalanchok and Rupandehi district shows that women are involved in various economic activities besides domestic work (Vaidya, Dhungel and Carlaw, 1978).

Similarly, the study done by Joshi (1980:19) shows that women work hand in hand with their menfolk in income generating activities, besides carrying out household tasks. According to this study, "In an average, a women spends 3 to 6 hours a day in such activities." In the same way, HMG, Ministry of Health, Nepal FP/MCH Data analysis: (205) shows that "women contribute almost 35 hours a week towards direct and indirect economic support of the family."

In the same way, the study made by Schroeder and Schroeder (1979: 181) suggests that "women are responsible for the greater share of the agricultural work as well as for care of children, upkeep of the family home and the preparation, cooking and serving of meals."

Nepali women work hard, usually leave bed early and go to bed early. "Eighty percent of women claim to begin their day by 6 A.M. and almost 90 percent are retired for the day by 9 P.M., thus suggesting a sleep period of between 8 and 9 hours." (HMG, Ministry of Health, Nepal FP/MCH Data analysis: 198).

The direct and indirect contribution of labour in economically productive activity is agriculture, animal care, activities in community work e.g. participation in parma⁵ and mela,⁶ activity in agriculturally-based trading and weaving and sewing of hay mattresses and clothes. Beside these, the work they are engaged in is grinding and husking of rice in a traditional pounding machine called dhiki. In peak agricultural season the dhiki remains out of operation. During this period rice, wheat, millet and maize are taken to the nearby water mills. This is also usually the work of women.

Besides labour contribution to their own land for cultivation of various seasonal crops, women also contribute their labour on wage basis, on kut⁷ basis and on parma basis. There is a well defined sex role in paddy cropping. Females are considered Ropars and are responsible for transplanting of the paddy seedlings. Men are consider Lathes and are responsible for tilling, digging, and ploughing the lands and Dai Bitra (threshing and compiling the threshed straw of rice plant). Except for tilling and ploughing the land women contribute their labours in almost all other agricultural activities.

Sex discrimination is clearly observed in the wage rate. The data obtained from Sindhupalchok district shows that the average daily wage is 5 rupees for a Lathe and 3 rupees for a Ropar. Similarly under the kut basis the average daily wage is one pathi of grain (usually rice or millet) for a Lathe and four mana for a Ropar and others.

Today the world is becoming more conscious about women's role, what they do and how they allocate their activities, the actual contribution of women in society can thus be estimated. Some such studies have been done by Mrs. Chandani Joshi "A Glimse of Nepalese Rural Women" (1980) and by Vaidya and et al. (1978). The finding of Vaidya, et al. (1978: 67) shows that the mean time allocation to various duties for total sample of 1417 women per day are as follows:

Domestic and child care	8 hours 30 minutes
Gathering food, water and firewood	1 hour 30 minutes
Animal care and agriculture	3 hours 10 minutes
Community services	35 minutes
Religions observances	5 minutes
Social, ceremonial and leisure	25 minutes
Marketing	<u>20 minutes</u>

Average length of working day 14 hours 35 minutes.

III. Labour Contribution and Fertility Behaviour

Human labour contribution in rural agricultural area is high. The only source of power in agricultures which is based on traditional technology is human labour. Hence in agricultural societies, manpower requirement is comparatively high. The study made in India by Prabhu (1974) shows that agriculturism is positively correlated to fertility. His review of literature shows that 10 studies out of 13 verify that agriculturism is positively correlated to fertility. His review of literature turism not be related to fertility. One study shows that agriculturism is negatively correlated with fertility. In Nepal no such work has been conducted so far. However in rural Nepal labour participation of female adults as well as children, is high. Because "high female labour force participation can be quite compatible with high fertility if the economy is such that households are the primary units of productivity." (Kasarda, 1971: 309). One can also expect high fertility and high labour

participation to be correlated also in Nepal. Similarly labour participation of children is also directly related with fertility in India according to (Prabhu, 1974) the economic value of children is directly related with fertility.

In rural Nepal the desired number of children is high. Distribution of child population in rural sector is higher than in urban sector (Status of Children in Nepal 1980). The type of labour contribution of children which initiates females to have many children are as follows:

Since the very young age of four children start taking some household responsibilities the first duty is to take care of the younger children. This is supported by a study carried out among four different communities of Nepal. According to Paneru (1978: 29) "Thakuri girls in rural Nepal even at the age of 4 look after their little brothers and sisters." Similarly "Newar girls usually between 4 to 11 years old take care of young children" (Paneru, 1978: 48) and "Sherpa children over four years old take some responsibilities at house, at least in looking after the younger child (Paneru, 1978: 68). Similarly "Tharu child around seven or eight usually baby sits, feeds the chicken or pigs and gathers dried cow dungs (Paneru, 1978: 91). Similarly, "Children of Nepal village spend a considerable amount of times in household maintenance and directly production work although not necessarily more than adults. Child care is one such activity. In Nepalese villages, girls as young as 6-8 years spend on the average 1.7 hours per day in child care", (Nag, White and Peet 1977: 256). Children of both sexes at the age of 6-9 years were involved in activities such as household maintenance and other directly productive work. Household maintenance work as defined by Nag, White and Peet (1977) are childcare, household food preparation, firewood collection and other household maintenance work. The directly productive work are animal care, wage labour (agricultural and non-agricultural) handicrafts, reciprocal labour or exchange community labour, agricultural work (own land) and production of articles for sale. Contribution of female children labour in both household maintenance and in directly productive work is higher than that of male children. The result of Nag, White and Peet shows that in household maintenance work the female children as early as 6-8 years spent 2.4 hours a day compared to male children of same age group who spend 0.7 hours a day. Similarly, in directly productive work, except for age group 6-8, the contribution of labour by female children is high. In the same way, female children start contributing their labour in wage agricultural work from 9 years while male children start only after 12 years of age. The findings of Nag, White and Peet for male and female children labour are as follows:

Activity	Female				Male			
	Age group				Age group			
	6-8	9-11	12-14	15-19	6-8	9-11	12-14	15-19
1. Childcare	1.7	0.9	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.1
2. Household food preparation	0.2	0.9	0.5	2.0	0.3	0.5	0.9	0.9
3. Firewood collection	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2
4. Other household maintenance work	0.4	0.7	1.0	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.8
5. Animal care	2.2	4.7	3.5	3.4	2.6	4.1	3.7	2.8
6. Wage labour (agricultural)	0.0	0.1	1.2	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.9
7. Wage labour (non- , ,)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7
8. Handicraft	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3
9. Reciprocal labour exchange community labour	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
10. Agricultural work (own land)	0.3	1.0	1.5	2.3	0.4	0.6	1.3	2.2
11. Production of article for sale (a, in the male section)	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.5
Total household maintenance	(1-4)2.4	2.6	3.3	3.2	0.7	1.7	0.3	2.0
Total directly production	(5-11)2.5	5.8	6.6	8.1	3.0	4.8	5.5	7.5
Total all work	(1-11)4.9	8.4	9.9	11.3	3.7	6.5	7.3	9.5

(a) Includes collection of forest products, blacksmithing and tailoring excludes portion of agricultural products and animal products which are sold.

Conclusion

The labour force contribution of rural Nepali women is generally considered as confined to household activities only. However the several studies done on rural women on their daily time allocation in different activities suggest that besides household activities women also contribute labour to directly productive economic activities. Given the agro-economic pattern of rural Nepal, where households are the primary unit of productivity, the labour requirement is high. It is of no surprise therefore that the labour force participation of females and children is high. Literature on population in India and elsewhere suggests that the type of labour that female and children contribute is directly related to fertility. Though no such work has yet been carried out in the Nepalese context, the cumulative fertility rate of 6.1 children per female suggests a correlation between high fertility and labour force participation of children in Nepal.

NOTES

1. A type of pop rice made out of rice generally taken as for snack, also called muri in Nepal terai and in India.
2. A type of pop rice, little different from golphoki in preparation and in shape. Very essential material for Newar's custom in preparing different artifacts.
3. An economic pattern of a village Gamcha in Machhegaun Chhopkhola panchayat is studied in 1974 while collecting data for "Saving and Investment in Nepal" project sponsored by Planning Commission to Institute of Humanities and Social Science, Central Campus.
4. Women in economic activity "Weaving Sukul" is studied in Sanogaun while studying "Toaditional and Prevailing Child Rearing Practices", among Newar community in Nepal in 1979 as a part of "Status of Children in Nepal."
5. Reciprocal labour exchange of the community.
6. Gathering together for wage labour contribution (Mela Jane) during transplanting paddy seedling. Have lots of fund with liquor, snack and exchange of happy rice planting song among male and female.
7. Labour contribution (either agriculture or non-agricultural) in terms of grain either with rice or millet.

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Cross- Cultural Study of Nepalese and Indian Optimism

M.P. Regmi* and H.S. Asthana+

The phenomenological approach to a person's own awareness is capable of revealing the contents of his experiential world without the limitations inherent in the use of projective method (1)*. As a rating scale Cantril's self-anchoring scale (2)* is a useful device for revealing the subjective world of one's experience. With its remarkable simplicity it can provide data of considerable value in cross-cultural research. Like a barometer it can portray the perceived stage of the social and political development of a people and provide for comparisons across national and cultural boundaries (3)*.

Problem

The present paper reports the findings of a study of samples of the Nepalese and Indian attitude towards self and nation, and their hopes and expectations. Discrepancies of the past and future ratings from the present anchor, a comparison between the two national groups investigated and with Cantril's study of concern over the national situation in 13 countries have been studied (3)*.

Four incidental samples comprising 935 respondents were studied. The first three were drawn from Nepal and the fourth from India. Of the Nepalese sample university students and teachers from the various campuses of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu contributed the first sample. The second sample of Gurungs was drawn from the Kaski district. Gurungs belong to the upper northern reaches of the Himalayas, at the foot hills of Annapurna, Lamjung Himal Chuli, of Gandaki zone. They belong to Tibeto-Burmese stock, of Mongoloid race, known for their ethnic cohesion and live in remote and relatively inaccessible areas. Tharus of Southern Nepal Terai, originally of Rajasthani stock (Indo-Aryan) and with affinity with the Tharus of

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North-eastern India but who settled down long ago contribute the third sample. Thus the Nepalese samples though not fully representative of the country include respondents from the northern, central and southern regions. Both males and females, literate and illiterate, educated and urban as well as uneducated and preliterate respondents from rural and remote areas are included. The Indian sample was drawn from Central India, and comprised students from University of Saugar.

Table 1

Sample	Sample N
<u>Nepalese</u>	835
1. <u>Urban</u>	635
2. <u>Gurungs</u>	100
3. <u>Tharus</u>	100
<u>Indian</u>	
<u>Urban</u>	<u>100</u>
Total	N = 935

Procedure

All the respondents were administered the self-anchoring scale as per directions given to indicate their own position and of their country as of the present, five years ago and five years, hence on an 11 point scale, the extreme ends of which represented the best and worst possible life respectively. The respondents were questioned in their own language (Nepalese, Gurung language, Tharuvani and in Hindi). The illiterate indicated their response with their index finger on a ladder scale.

Results and Discussions

Some outstanding features of the findings may now be noted. This can be best accomplished if comparisons between various sub-samples are made for the modal responses of the respondents.

Perception of the Self

Both the Nepalese and the Indian exhibit the same self-anchoring ratings (5)* in the present, the past being seen somewhat worse than the present by the Nepalese (3)* as compared to the Indians (4)*. The Nepalese Tharus look at the past and the present in the same way as the urban Nepalese from central Nepal. Interestingly, however the future is perceived as much bright (9)* as compared to the Indians (8)* and also as compared with own present and the past (3)* by the Nepalese on the whole, with the exception of the Tharus who exhibit greater realism (7)* than the rest of the Nepalese.

The Nepalese Gurungs, show a very low present anchorage (1)* the past is perceived as somewhat better (2)* than the present. Nevertheless it is seen as poor as that by Cubans in Cantril's study. The future is seen as exceptionally bright (8)*.

As for the Indians, comparing the present findings with those of Cantril's study made nearly two decades ago, the ratings for the present appear near about the same (4/5)*. The past is perceived as poor (2/3)*. There was less hope for the future (5)* in Cantril, the expectations are much higher today (8)*.

Perception of the Nation

A comparison of the Nepalese urban sample with its Indian counterpart about their perception of the state of nation reveals that there is a marked degree of pessimism in the former. The present is anchored low (2)*, the past was poor (1)* and the future holds very little hopes (3)*. The contrasts rather sharply with the Indian scene where the past was rated at 3, the present is seen in the middle (5)* and the future is seen as promising (8)*. These ratings for the Indian show marked correspondence with those obtained by Cantril about a couple of decades ago.

What do these findings imply? The optimism about self in the central urban Nepal, which is somewhat moderated in the Tharus of the Southern Nepal, but exaggerated in the northern Gurungs may be attributed to several factors. The Tharus being in close proximity to the north Indian population seem to be more realistically oriented to the future expectations. The educated urbanite of the central Nepal somewhat isolated from his southern brethren by the south Himalayan ranges is not affected by the moderating influence to which the latter is exposed. He looks hopefully to a brighter future. The economically disadvantaged Gurungs, generally illiterate with poor awareness due to isolation caused by inaccessibility appear highly unrealistic about future prospects in pitching their optimism very high. Their institution

of 'fictive relationship' which guarantees social security seems to reinforce this optimism not found in a competitive industrial society. It appears, therefore, that it is for different reasons that this optimism in isolated Gurungs and the urban Nepalese is unduly high. It also seems that optimism increases directly with geographical and communication remoteness. In the case of India while the self image anchor is the same as for the Nepalese a more modest and realistic appraisal of the future is observed. Perhaps exposure to socio-economic developments, a moderate degree of success in the past achievements as in the case of the neighbouring countries like India and China tend to tone down such optimism to moderate levels in the Tharus of Southern Nepal.

Looking at the national images the picture appears somewhat different. Comparing the Nepalese picture with that obtaining for the Indians of a comparable group, which has substantially remained the same for nearly two decades (Cantril), the national image looks somewhat grim. In the Nepalese samples the picture looks somewhat bleak marked by a feeling of pessimism, even hopelessness. Relatively poor economic growth, a certain measure of isolation, the nature of socio-political developments, frustrations, even the inevitable sense of unfavourable contrast with developments in neighbouring countries at least in the Nepalese urbanites may be some of the factors responsible for such a perception. On the other hand the future is perceived brighter by Indians today than what Cantril found about two decades ago. Socio-economic and technological growth and the relative stability of political systems till recently may have aroused higher hopes and aspirations.

The magnitude of discrepancy between the past, present and future anchorings also seems to vary inversely with the level of the development of the country. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for greater discrepancy in the ratings for the three time periods in the Nepalese sample as compared to what is observed in the Indian sample.

What, however, appears somewhat intriguing is the lack of congruence between the self and national images among the Nepalese. This discrepancy may be the consequence of two different frames of reference the respondents may be employing to rate themselves and the nation. Being educated urbanites, they expect for themselves prospects of growth and achievements ordinarily limited to such group in a developing society. At the same time being educated and thus exposed to broader information and more sensitive to socio-economic and political developments in their country and abroad, they are conscious of the constraints and the limitations in the development of their country: This schismogenesis between the two systems the self-system and the social

institutional system is thus found co-existing as if in isolation of each other. And this may be one of the characteristics of a developing society.

In sum based upon some rating scale data, from 2 countries, Nepal and India, the paper attempts to raise some hypotheses for further investigation.

Note: *Indicates Cantril's ladder number.

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APPENDIX (i)Table 2: Nepalese urban group (University Students, n=635)

Self Development	Past	Present	Future
Modal Point Frequency	20%	25%	22%
Ladder Step Number	3	5	9

Table 3: Gurungs' Group (n = 100)

Self Development	Past	Present	Future
Modal Point Frequency	23%	23%	24%
Ladder Step Number	2	1	8

Table 4: Tharus' Group (n = 100)

Self Development	Past	Present	Future
Modal Point Frequency	15%	41%	23%
Ladder Step Number	3	5	7

Table 5: Indian Urbans from Saugar University (n=100)

Self Development	Past	Present	Future
Modal Point Frequency	23%	26%	26%
Ladder Step Number	4	5	8

Table 6: Modal points for National Development
(Nepalese urbans, n = 186)

National Development	Past	Present	Future
Modal Point Frequency	35%	24.6%	19%
Ladder Step Number	1	2	3

Table 7: Modal points for National Development
(Indian urbans n = 100)

National Development	Past	Present	Future
Modal Point Frequency	24%	34%	25%
Ladder Step Number	3	5	8

Table 8: National Ladder Distribution Percent
(Nepalese urbans n = 186)

Ladder Step	Present	Past	Future
10			4.2
9		.5	4
8			8
7	.5		5.3
6	.5	1.6	12
5	11.5	2.1	10.2
4	13.9	4	8
3	23	16.7	19
2	24.6	23	12.3
1	20.5	35	6.4
0	5.5	16.6	9.6
Below 0		.5	1

	Median Ladder Step
Present	2
Past	1
Future	4

Table 9: Personal Ladder Distribution Percent
(Nepalese urbans n = 635)

Ladder Step	Present	Past	Future
10	2	3	17
9	3	3	22
8	7	5	16
7	14	5	14
6	15	6	12
5	25	15	5
4	14	15	4
3	9.5	20	3
2	5	15	2
1	4	9	2
0	1.5	4	3

	Median Ladder Step
Present	5
Past	4
Future	8

Table 10: Personal Ladder Distribution Percent
(Gurungs n = 100)

Ladder Step	Present	Past	Future
10			1
9		2	7
8	1		24
7	2	3	10
6	15	8	7
5	18	20	12
4	11	14	9
3	5	20	15
2	16	23	9
1	23	8	3
0	9	2	3

	Present	Past	Future
Median Ladder Step	3	3	5

Table 11: Personal Ladder Distribution Percent
(Tharus' n = 100)

Ladder Step	Present	Past	Future
10	4	1	7
9	2	5	11
8	2	5	17
7	8	13	23
6	5	13	11
5	41	12	7
4	10	12	12
3	14	15	4
2	6	12	2
1	1	10	3
0	7	2	3

Median Ladder Step	Present	Past	Future
	5	4	7

Table 12: National Ladder Distribution Percent
(Indian urbans n = 100)

Ladder Step	Present	Past	Future
10	1	1	9
9		1	8
8	2	4	25
7	12	9	17
6	17	11	8
5	34	15	14
4	20	17	4
3	6	24	4
2	5	12	7
1	2	3	2
0	1	3	2

	Present	Past	Future
Median Ladder Step	5	4	7

Table 13: Personal Ladder Distribution Percent
(Indian urbans n = 100)

Ladder Step	Present	Past	Future
10	1	4	17
9	2	2	18
8	5	5	26
7	10	6	19
6	25	12	12
5	26	16	4
4	17	23	1
3	5	19	
2	5	7	3
1	3	5	
0	1	1	

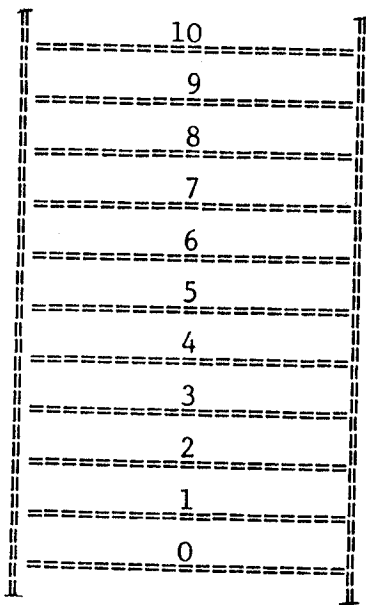
Median Ladder Step	Present	Past	Future
	5	4	8

APPENDIX (ii)

Short and explicit description of some psychological terms used in this paper is given below:

1 (a) Cantril's self-anchoring scale.

Cantril used this scale in the context of an interview on personal worries, fears, hopes, and aspirations; the international situation; and concerns over the national situation in 13 countries (United States, Cuba, India, and Dominican republic etc).



The self-anchoring scale technique is particularly appropriate for investigating attitudes toward self, group, and institutions as well as nations that involves expectations and aspirations for the future. This technique is usually regarded as wholly idiographic procedure. It does, however, yield important nomothetic data. There are ethnic, occupational, and national differences in the depressed or hopeful outlooks of members of such groups.

Figure of Stimulus (Ladder) for self-anchoring scale

(b) Anchor: This term indicates individual's own position as an anchor in judging his self-concept.

(c) Ladder: It is a stimulus for self-anchoring scale (a 11 point scale), subject is asked to consider top of the ladder as best possible life for him and the bottom the worst possible. Then he locates his position, at present, where he was 5 years ago and where he will be 5 years from now. This stimulus can be used for personal ladder distribution and national ladder distribution depending on frame of reference.

- (d) Model point frequency: It indicates an attitude as a range with a modal point (latitude of acceptance). It also indicates highest number of choices for a particular ladder step.
 - (e) Ladder Step Number: Generally, Cantril's self-anchoring scale consists of a 11 steps ladder ranging from 0 to 10.
 - (f) Median ladder step: This is computed by locating 50% distribution of ladder choices starting from 0 ladder step to upstairs. Median scores also serve the purpose of explaining optimism by ladder number point but Cantril preferred modes for past, present, and future.
 - (g) The scale's international applicability: Cantril has used this scale for the comparison of personal and national ladder distributions of 13 countries' (Cantril, 1965). The United States sample revealed more optimism for personal future than for one's country. Cuban sample reported a bad past being replaced by a hopeful future.
2. This study delimits its scope by only focussing optimism with respect to 'national development' for Nepali and Indian urban groups because the Gurung and Tharu samples showed a lower sensitivity in reporting national progress as there is high illiteracy among them.

Urban Nepalis distinctly observe the discrepancy between the existing state of their nation and their own self-concept. The optimistic Nepalis change their frame of reference when they view optimism vis-a-vis the nation.

Optimism of Gurungs is also rooted in their ethnicity and temperament which needs further enquiry. Their pessimism is based on the hardship of hill ecology. Tharus are agrarian and reality-oriented whereas Gurungs are mostly militant in nature showing more moodiness and humor in their way of life.

कीर्तिवम मल्ल र उनका अप्रकाशित अभिलेख

टेकवहादुर त्रेष्ठ^१

गण्डकी प्रदेशका चौबीसी राज्यमध्ये पर्वत राज्य निकै शक्तिशाली रहेको थियो । कीर्तिवम मल्ल पर्वत राज्यका प्रतापशाली राजा थिए । यिनी पर्वतका प्रसिद्ध राजा मलेवम मल्लका नाति तथा प्रियव्रत मल्लका (जो पछि शाहवम मल्लको नामले प्रख्यात रहे) पुत्र थिए । यिनी पर्वतका चौधौं तथा अन्तिम राजा थिए । यिनले पर्वत राज्यका सांश्रामिक दृष्टिले महत्त्वपूर्ण दुर्गहरूमा उमरा आदि सैनिक अधिकारीको व्यवस्था गरी पर्वत राज्यलाई सुरक्षित पार्न निकै प्रयास गरेका थिए ।

कीर्तिवम मल्लको शासनकाल वि.सं. १८१५ देखि प्रारम्भ भएको^१ भनिए तापनि अहिले-सम्म प्राप्त ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीको आधारमा यिनको राज्यकाल वि.सं. १८१६^२ देखि १८४३ सम्म भएको देखिन्छ । करीव २४ वर्षको शासनकालको अधिकांश समय आक्रमण तथा प्रत्याक्रमण गनामा यिनले बिताएका थिए । तात्कालिक नेपालको इतिहास बुझ्न यी कीर्तिवम मल्लका गतिविधिमाथि पनि दृष्टि नदिए हुँदैन । यस कारण प्राप्त सामग्रीको आधारमा कीर्तिवम मल्ल र तात्कालिक राजनैतिक, आर्थिक सामाजिक पदामा केही प्रकाश पार्न चेष्टा यहाँ गरिएको छ ।

राजनैतिक पदा

कीर्तिवम मल्ल जुन समयमा पर्वत राज्यको राजगद्दीमा आसीन रहे; सो समयमा गोरखाका राजा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह उपत्यकाका मल्ल राज्यहरू विरुद्ध आर्थिक नाकाबन्दी गर्ने सिलसिलामा मकवानपुर विजय, मीरकासिम पराजय जस्ता उल्लेखनीय सफलता प्राप्त गरी आर्थिक तथा सैनिक दृष्टिले मजबूत हुन पुगेका थिए । केही समयभित्र नै एकीकरण सफल पार्ने यस अभियानमा गोरखाले चौबीसी राज्य कज्याउन बाईसी राज्य-मध्यका जाजरकोट, सल्यान आदिसँग मित्रता गाँसी सकेको थियो । चौबीसी राज्यलाई पश्चिमबाट पनि हान्ने योजनामा उनलाई केही सफलता मिलेको थियो । वि.सं. १८२६ सम्ममा उपत्यकाका तीन राज्य र वरपरका प्रदेशमाथि आधिपत्य जमाएपछि श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले आफूलाई समर्थ ठानी पश्चिमका चौबीसी राज्यमाथि दृष्टि लगाएका थिए ।

उता गण्डकी प्रदेशका यी चौबीसी राज्यहरू संख्यामा बढी भए पनि स-साना थिए । यिनीहरू परस्परमा लडाइँ-भिडाइँ गरिरहन्थे तापनि आवश्यकता परेको समयमा यिनीहरू संगठित पनि हुन्थे । त्यसताकाको गुहारयुगे राजनीतिअनुसार^३ एक राज्यले अर्को राज्यको

१. यस नै.ए.अ. केन्द्रका उप-प्राध्यापक हुनुहुन्छ ।

विरुद्ध अर्कोलाई गुहार दिने चलन थियो । चौबीसी राजाहरूमा टाढासम्म हेर्ने कामताको कमी थियो । यिनै कुराहरूले गर्दा चौबीसी राज्यलाई श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहद्वारा हात्ती हजवा^४ शब्दले व्यंग्य गरेको पाइन्छ । अर्को कुरा "... तनहुँ पालपा पिउठाना कास्की ह राजाहरू मुष्का वाठा पेटका अति चतुरा तरवारका अति काफर" भनिएको पाइन्छ^५ । तर पर्वत राज्यको यो अवस्था थिएन । शाहवम मल्लको पालादेखि नै पर्वत गोरखा विरुद्धको युद्धमा सक्रिय रहेका^६ र कीर्तिविम मल्लले त फन गोरखासँग टक्कर लिँदै आएकोले पर्वत चौबीसी राज्यमध्ये एक शक्तिशाली राज्यको रूपमा रही केही राज्यको नेतृत्व गर्दै आएको थियो ।

सतहुँको युद्ध

कीर्तिविम मल्लले नेतृत्व गरेको फौजले पश्चिम विजय गर्न गएको गोरखाली फौजलाई वि.सं. १८२८ मा सतहुँको युद्धमा नराप्रोसँग पराजित गरेको थियो^७ । गोरखाली फौज पश्चिमका स-साना राज्यलाई कज्याउँदै सतहुँमा पर्ने डहरेको लेकमा डटेर बसेको थियो । यसै मौकामा पर्वत र सतहुँको संयुक्त फौजले गोरखाली फौजमाथि आक्रमण ग-यो । घमासान युद्ध भयो । काजी केहरसिंह वस्नेत मारिए; काजी वंशराज पाण्डेलाई कैद गरी पर्वत पु-याइयो । यसरी गोरखाली पक्षाको निकै क्षति भयो ।

यस विजयमा देवनाथ पण्डितको पनि महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यस संक्रमणकालमा पर्वत र सतहुँका राजा बीच सन्धि गराउनामा यिनको हात रहेको थियो । यस कामका लागि पुरस्कार स्वरूप यिनले पर्वत र सतहुँका राजाबाट वित्त पाएका थिए भन्ने कुरा वि.सं. १९११ को एक पत्रवाट^८ बुझिन्छ ।

सतहुँको विजयले चौबीसी राज्यमा हाँसला बढेको थियो भने गोरखालीहरूमा केही निराशा हाएको थियो । सतहुँको पराजय पछि लगत्तै पर्वत राज्यको रहस्य पत्ता लाग्ने प्रयासमा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह लागे^९ । पश्चिमतर्फको अभियानलाई केही समयका लागि त्यागी यिनी पूर्वतर्फ लागेका थिए ।

जुम्लासँग सम्बन्ध

कीर्तिविम मल्लले श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको जुम्लालाई हात लिई पर्वत माथि हान्न लगाउने प्रयास असफल पारेका थिए । यिनका बाजे मलेवम मल्लले डोटी राज्यलाई उठाई मुस्ताङका केही प्रदेशवाट जुम्लालाई धपाई त्यस प्रदेशमा आफ्नो प्रभाव फैलाउन सफल भएका थिए^{१०} । यसरी मलेवमताका नै पर्वतको जुम्लासँग राम्रो सम्बन्ध थिएन । श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले पश्चिम विजय गर्ने अभियानलाई सफल पार्न जुम्ला, जाजरकोट, सल्यान, प्यूठान आदि राज्यलाई कोसेली आदि पठाई हात लिने नीति लिएका थिए^{११} ।

यिनले पर्वतलाई पनि आफ्नो पदामा ल्याउन यो नीति अडभालेका थिए^{१२}। तर यिनी असफल रहे । यस कार्यमा सफलता नमिले पछि पूर्व र पश्चिमबाट हानी पर्वतलाई चेपुवामा पार्ने दाउमा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह थिए । यस काममा जुम्लाको सहयोग लिनु आवश्यक थियो । जुम्लालाई पर्वतसँग बदला लिन यो राम्रो मौका पनि थियो तर कीर्तिवमले एक जना काजीलाई लेखेको पत्रमा^{१३} 'उप्रीवाट जुम्ला पनि आयो महाकाज गन्या' जुम्लालाई मान्याको जिमी जुम्लेको हात चहाउ' मन्ने व्यहोरा परेको छ । अर्को पत्रमा^{१४} '... जुम्लासित वन्दो-वस्त मएछ, वनेछ...' आदि कुराको उल्लेख परेकोले कीर्तिवम मल्लले हङ्गेको प्रदेश जुम्लालाई फिता दिई सन्धि गरेको कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ । यसरी कीर्तिवम मल्लले श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको योजना असफल पारेका थिए । यस घटनाबाट यिनी कूटनीतिज्ञ पनि थिए मन्ने देखिन्छ ।

लमजुङ०लाई सहयोग

राजा कीर्तिवम मल्लले गोरखाको विरुद्ध सैनिक शक्ति बढाउँदै थिए । यता श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको मृत्युपछि प्रतापसिंह शाह राजा भए । यिनी त्यति विजिगीषु प्रकृतिका थिएनन् । तसर्थ यिनी कीर्तिवम आदि चौबीसी राज्यका राजाहरूसँग सन्धि गर्ने पदामा थिए^{१५}। यिनको मृत्युपश्चात् राजमाता राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मी तथा राजकुमार बहादुर शाहको बीच नायवीका लागि घात-प्रतिघात चल्थो । यस अवसरमा चौबीसी राज्य फायदा लिने प्रयासमा थिए ।

वि.सं. १८३८ मा सिद्धानचोकमा पर्वत लमजुङ० राज्यको संयुक्त फौज र गोरखाली फौज बीच लडाईं भयो । यस युद्धमा पर्वत लमजुङ०को ठूलो हार भयो । उक्त युद्धमा हारी फर्केका पर्वतका राजाले कास्कीमाथि आक्रमण गरी कास्कीका राजा सिद्धिनारायण शाह र उनका पुत्रलाई गोरखामा शरण लिन बाध्य तुल्याएका थिए^{१६}।

वि.सं. १८३६ मा लमजुङ०माथि गोरखाको आक्रमण हुँदा कीर्तिवम मल्लले लमजुङ०लाई सक्रिय सहयोग गरेका थिए । मलेवम मल्लका पालादेखि नै लमजुङ०सँग राम्रो सम्बन्ध रहेको थियो । पर्वतले लमजुङ०को चिर शत्रु गोरखालाई पश्चिमतर्फ बढ्न नदिन लमजुङ०लाई सैनिक सहयोग गर्दै आएको थियो । सिद्धानचोकको लडाईंपछि ताकुघाटको युद्धमा पर्वतको ठूलो हार भयो । लमजुङ०को स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व भेटियो ।

कम्पनी सरकारसँग सहयोगको माग

चौबीसी राज्यमध्येका शक्तिशाली कहलिएका लमजुङ० नेपाल अधिराज्यमा गाभिएपछि चौबीसी राज्यको शक्ति क्षीण हुँदै गए पनि कीर्तिवम मल्ल हतोत्साही भएका थिएनन् । पश्चिमका बाइसी राज्यबाट सहयोग पाउने आश थिएन । यसर्थ पात्पाका तात्कालिक राजा महादत्त सेनसँग मिली कम्पनी सरकारसँग सहयोग माग्ने चेष्टा गर्न थाले । लमजुङ० नेपाल

अधिराज्यमा गाभिएको तीन महीनापछि नै पर्वत र पाल्पाका वकीलहरू यस कामका लागि पठाइएका थिए^{१७}। यता पर्वत र पाल्पा यस काममा सफल भएमा गोरखालाई पश्चिमतर्फ बढ्न कठिन हुने हुँदा यस कदमलाई असफल तुल्याउन गोरखाले प्रयास गरिरहेको थियो^{१८}। कम्पनी सरकारको सहयोग प्राप्त भयो वा भएन भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन सकेको छैन । तर यस काममा पर्वत, पाल्पा सफल नभएको बुझिन्छ ।

पर्वतमा भक्तपुरका राजकुमारलाई शरण

कीर्तिविम मल्लले भक्तपुरका राजा रणजित् मल्लका छोरा अवधूतसिंहलाई वि.सं. १८४० मा पर्वतमा शरण दिएका थिए । अवधूतसिंह रणजित् मल्लका भित्रिनीपट्टिका छोरा थिए । श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले भक्तपुर विजय गरेपछि रणजित् मल्ललाई उनको हज्जानुसार काशीवास गर्न जाने अनुमति दिएका थिए । रणजित् मल्लको मागअनुसार उनका साथ अवधूतसिंहलाई पनि जाने अनुमति दिइयो । अवधूतसिंह कान्छा छोरा भएकाले रणजित् मल्लले यिनलाई आफ्नो उत्तराधिकारी बनाएर भक्तपुरका राजा बनाउने उद्देश्य लिएका थिए भनिन्छ^{१९}। यस प्रयोजनका लागि अवधूतसिंहले चौदण्डीका राजा कणसिनसँग मिली श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह विरुद्ध षड्यन्त्र रचेका थिए । तर यो षड्यन्त्र असफल रह्यो । फलस्वरूप यस काण्डमा संलग्न केही व्यक्तिहरू मारिए^{२०}। अवधूतसिंह वेपत्ता भएको हुँदा उनको श्रीसम्पत्ति वि.सं. १८२७ मा जफत भयो^{२१}।

उपरोक्त काण्डपछि अवधूतसिंहले के कस्तो रूप लिए भन्ने कुरा अस्पष्ट थियो । पर्वत राज्यको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री संकलन गर्ने सिलसिलामा कीर्तिविम मल्लले अवधूतसिंहको नाममा गरिदिएको ताम्रपत्र^{२२} प्राप्त भएको छ । यसबाट अवधूतसिंहबारे केही प्रकाश पर्दछ । श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह विरुद्धको षड्यन्त्रपछि र पर्वतमा शरण लिनु अधिको करीव १३ वर्ष जतिको अवधिमा यिनको भूमिका रहस्यमय नै छ । तर उपर्युक्त ताम्रपत्रानुसार बागलुङो वजारसँग उत्तरमा पर्ने उपल्लोचौरमा कीर्तिविम मल्लले अवधूतसिंहलाई वितर्ता दिएका थिए भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यिनले निकासी कर माफी पनि पाएका थिए । पर्वत राज्य नेपाल अधिराज्यमा गाभिए पछि वि.सं. १८६६ सम्म पनि सो जग्गा सम्बन्धी सुविधा उनले उपभोग गरिरहेको देखिन्छ^{२३}। यसबाट यिनी लामो समयसम्म जीवित रहेको देखिन्छ । यी कुराहरूबाट श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहद्वारा शुरू गरिएको एकीकरण अभियान विरुद्ध गरिने कुनै पनि कार्यवाहीमा यिनले कीर्तिविम मल्ललाई साथ दिएका थिए भन्ने कुरामा शंका रहदैन ।

पर्वतको अन्त्य

लमजुङो र तनहुँ राज्य नेपाल अधिराज्यमा गाभिए तापनि कीर्तिविम मल्ल हतौत्साही भएका थिएनन् । एक पल्ट फेरि लमजुङो फिर्ता गर्ने उद्देश्यले यिनले वि.सं. १८४१ मा मकै डाँडामा गोरखा विरुद्ध घमासान युद्ध गरे । यस युद्धमा पनि पर्वतको निकै क्षति भयो । सैन्य शक्ति क्षीण हुँदै गयो ।

वि.सं. १८४२ सम्ममा कालीगण्डकी पूर्वको प्रदेश गोरखा अधिराज्यमा गामिहसकेको थियो^{२४}। शक्तिशाली पाल्पाले पनि गोरखाको पदा लिएको हुँदा कीर्तिवम मल्ल अव एक्लो भए । अर्को कुरो राज्यभिन्न पनि केही मारादारहरू कीर्तिवम मल्लदेखि असन्तुष्ट थिए । मौका मिले कीर्तिवमलाई अपदस्थ गरी उनका छोरा नरसिंह मल्ललाई राजगद्दीमा आसीन गराउने सुरमा ती असन्तुष्ट मारादार थिए^{२५}। केही त गोरखाली पदामा मिल्न समेत गएका थिए^{२६}। केही प्रभावशाली व्यक्तिलाई प्रलोभन देखाई गोरखाली राजाले आफ्नो पदामा मिलाई सकेको थियो^{२७}।

यता गोरखाली फौजले वि.सं. १८४३ आश्विन ४ गते दक्षिण र पूर्वबाट पर्वतमाथि आक्रमण गरे । कीर्तिवम मल्लले केही दिनसम्म त प्रतिरक्षात्मक युद्ध वहादुरीकासाथ लडे । तर आश्विन १४ गते पर्वतको राजधानी वेणी दखल भयो^{२८}। यिनी राज्य छोडी नवाव वजीरको राज्य वलीरामपुरमा शरण लिन पुगे, जहाँ उनको मृत्यु भयो^{२९}। यसरी पर्वत राज्य एकीकृत नेपाल अधिराज्यमा विलीन भयो ।

शासन व्यवस्था

पर्वतको कीर्तिवम मल्लताकाको राजनैतिक पदाको एक फलक माथि प्रस्तुत गरियो । अब प्राप्त सामग्रीको आधारमा तात्कालिक प्रशासन-व्यवस्थाको फलक प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ ।

राजधानी

राजदरवार प्रशासनिक दृष्टिले केन्द्र रूपको हुने हुँदा प्रत्येक राज्यमा यसको अस्तित्व रहेको पाइन्छ । यस्ता दरवारको निर्माण गर्दा सुरक्षालाई प्राथमिकता दिइन्थ्यो । सामरिक दृष्टिले महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थलमा दरवारको निर्माण गरिन्थ्यो । नेपाल उपत्यकादेखि पश्चिमी प्रदेशको प्रशासनिक इतिहासको अध्ययन गरेमा अभिलेख, लालमोहर सनदसवालहरू विभिन्न दरवारबाट जारी गरिएका पाइन्छन्^{३०}। त्यसताका प्रायः ग्रीष्मकालिक र शीतकालिक दरवारको निर्माण गरी तत् तत् स्थानबाट शासन चलेको हुन्थ्यो । पर्वत राज्यको शुरू शुरूमा ताकममा केन्द्र रहेको थियो । पछि ढोरालखाना र वेणीले ग्रीष्मकालिक र शीतकालिक दरवारको रूप लिएका थिए भन्ने कुरा विभिन्न ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ^{३१}। म्याग्दी र कालीगण्डकी नदीको संगमस्थल वेणीमा दरवारको निर्माण भएपछि वेणी राजधानी कहलिएको थियो ।

राजा

राज्यमा राजा प्रशासनको दृष्टिले सर्वोपरि थिए । राजा कीर्तिवम मल्लका लामा लामा प्रशस्ति पाइँदैनन् । 'श्रीमहाराजाधिराज' मात्र भनिएको पाइन्छ । प्रशस्तिमा कहीं 'श्री ३३२', श्री ५^{३३} छन् त कहीं 'श्री ६'^{३४} लेखिएको पनि पाइन्छ । कहीं श्रीमहाराजाधिराज भन्थे 'श्रीमहाराजा' मात्र भनिएको पनि पाइन्छ । राजा युद्ध संचालन गर्ने वा अरु कुनै काम विशेषले एक स्थानबाट अर्को स्थानमा दाँडाहा गर्थे । उक्त कुरा विभिन्न

१०२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ८, नं. २ (जुन १९८१)

स्थानलाई मुकाम बनाई जारी गरिएका अभिलेखबाट थाहा पाइन्छ^{३५}।

काजी

काजी भनेका मंत्री हुन् । राजालाई शासन चलाउनाका लागि चौतारा र मंत्रीहरूको मन्त्रि-परिषद् रहन्थ्यो । पर्वत राज्यमा काजी पद रहेको कुरा विभिन्न अभिलेखमा^{३६} साक्षीका रूपमा 'काजी' को उल्लेख पाइएबाट थाहा हुन्छ । यो पद राजपरिवारमा मात्र सीमित रहेको देखिन्छ । ताम्रपत्रमा^{३७} छ जनासम्म काजीको नामोल्लेख भएको पाइन्छ । तर जेठा काजी^{३८} भनी उल्लेख परेकोले काजीको पनि विभिन्न तह थियो भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ । चौबीसी राज्यमध्येका पाल्पा लमजुङ आदि राज्यको प्रशासनिक अङ्गमा चौतारा रहेको पाइन्छ । पर्वतका हिमेली राज्य गलकोटमा पनि चौतारा पद रहेको थियो तर पर्वतमा यो पद रहेको थियो वा थिएन भन्ने कुरो थाहा हुन सकेको छैन ।

ठाकुर

पर्वतका मल्ल राजाहरूले जारी गरेका ताम्रपत्राभिलेखहरूमा काजी पछि ठाकुरलाई स्थान दिइएको छ । यी अभिलेखहरूमा^{३९} 'खोलाका ठाकुर' भनिएको छ । कीर्तिवम मल्लले काजीलाई लेखेको पत्रमा^{४०} उपरान्त हामी कुशमा जान्छौं पाल्पा प्रमति आधि खोलाका राजालाई चलाउन गयाका छन्..... को उल्लेख परेको छ । यसबाट आधीखोलामा राजा रहेको कुरामा शंका छैन । तर यी राजा कीर्तिवम मल्लका अभिलेखमा साक्षीका रूपमा देखिएका ठाकुर नै हुन् वा अरु नै हुन् भन्ने कुरा निश्चित रूपमा भन्न सकिएको छैन । काजी पदमा रहेका व्यक्तिलाई पछि ठाकुर पनि बनाइएको छ । राजपरिवारमा सीमित भएको यो पदको पजनी हुन्थ्यो भन्ने देखिएको छ ।

सरदार

देश रक्षाको दृष्टिले सरदारको महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेको थियो । सरदारलाई मुख्य गरी सैनिक गतिविधिको जिम्मेवारी सुम्पिहन्थ्यो । शक्तिवत्तमले जयरत्नाकर नाटकमा^{४१} सरदारलाई सेनापति भनेका छन् । पर्वतमा सरदारको^{४२} रक्षा वाहेक अरु के काम हुन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा थाहा हुन सकेको छैन । तर पाल्पाका राजा मुकुन्द सेन द्वितीयताका पाल्पामा सरदार सैनिक गतिविधिमा मात्र सीमित नभई आर्थिक तथा प्रशासनिक क्षेत्रमा पनि संलग्न रहेका थिए भन्ने देखिएको छ ।

कपदारि

राजाका लुगा - गहना र मान्साको रेशदेखि गर्ने काम कपदारिको हुन्थ्यो । पर्वत राज्यका कपदारिको काम पनि यही थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । कपदारि तात्कालिक अभिलेखहरूमा^{४३} साक्षीका रूपमा देखापरेका छन् ।

ह्वापदार

कीर्तिवम मल्लका ताम्रपत्रहरूमा^{४४} सादगी वस्ने अधिकारीहरूको सिलसिलामा 'ह्वापदार' को पनि उल्लेख आएको छ । 'ह्वापदार' पदको उल्लेख नेपालको मध्यकालको प्रशासनिक इतिहासको क्रममा अन्त भएको पाइन्छैन । वि.सं. १६१० को एक पत्रमा ह्वापदारको उल्लेख परेको छ ताम्रपत्र यसको कामवारे त्यतावाट प्रकाश पर्दैन । तर ह्वापदारको काम माना पाथी आदि वस्तुमा ह्वाप लगाउनु हुन्थ्यो भन्ने अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ ।

चोपदार

'चोपदार'^{४५} पद प्रशासनिक इतिहासमा नौलो देखापर्छ । एउटा कोषमा^{४६} चोपदारको अर्थ हतियार लिई अगाडि हिड्ने व्यक्ति अर्थात् प्रतिहारी भनी दिइएको छ । कुमाउँतिर चोपदारलाई माला चलाउने व्यक्ति (Javelin-man) भनिएको पाइन्छ^{४७} । यसबाट चोपदारको काम सुरक्षा गर्नु हुन्थ्यो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

सजांची

सजांची पद आर्थिक दृष्टिले महत्त्वपूर्ण मानिन्छ । टक्सारीले ह्वापी सकेका मुद्रा आदि सजांचीको जिम्मामा रहन्थ्यो । राजस्वमा आएका रकम खर्च गर्ने अधिकार सजांचीलाई हुन्थ्यो । पर्वतका राजाले गरिदिएका अभिलेखहरूमा^{४८} विभिन्न समयमा विभिन्न व्यक्ति सजांची पदमा रही साक्षी बसेको देखिएकोले यस पदको पजनी हुन्थ्यो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

उमरा

मध्यकालको उत्तरार्द्धमा गण्डकी प्रदेशमा चौबीसी राज्यको उदय भएको थियो । यी स-साना राज्यहरू परस्परमा लडाईं-मिडाईं गरिरहन्थे । राज्यको सुरक्षार्थ आवश्यक धुम धुममा उमरा नियुक्त गरिन्थे भन्ने कुरा तात्कालिक ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

उमरालाई भूमि सम्बन्धी अधिकार पनि दिइएको थियो । कीर्तिवम मल्लको एउटा पत्रमा^{४९} उमराले गुह्लाई वित्त दिई साधुलाई दिएको व्यहोरा परेको छ । दोलखामा उमराको भूमि व्यवस्थासँग पनि घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध रहेको पाइएको छ^{५०} । जग्गाको नापी हुँदा उमराको रैखदेसमा हुन्थ्यो; राजाद्वारा प्रदत्त जग्गाको चार कित्ता खुट्टा दिने काम उमराले गरेको र भूमि कर उठाउने काम समेत गरेको देखिएको छ । कीर्तिवम मल्लद्वारा जारी गरिएको अभिलेखहरूमा^{५१} उमरा सादगीका रूपमा देखापरेका छन् ।

द्वारे

प्राचीनकालमा फौ मध्यकालको प्रशासनिक चौत्रमा पनि द्वारेको निकै महत्त्व रहेको पाइन्छ । प्रादेशिक एकाहमा प्रशासकका रूपमा द्वारेको नियुक्ति हुन्थ्यो । यसबाट पर्वत

राज्यको प्रशासनिक यन्त्र संचालनमा सहयोग मिलेको थियो । तात्कालिक अभिलेखहरूमा^{५२} द्वारा साक्षीका रूपमा देखापरेका छन् ।

मण्डारे

राज ढुकुटीको रेसदेस गर्ने जिम्मा मण्डारीलाई सुम्पिने हुँदा मण्डारीको महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेको कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ । लिच्छविकालमा 'माण्डनायक'^{५३} मनिन्थ्यो भने मध्यकालमा पश्चिम कर्णाली प्रदेशको इतिहासमा मण्डारीलाई 'माण्डागारिक'^{५४} मनिन्थ्यो । पर्वतमा 'मण्डान्या' मनिएको छ । तात्कालिक अभिलेखहरूमा^{५५} मण्डारे साक्षीको रूपमा देखापरेको छ ।

विचारी

विचारीले तात्कालिक न्याय प्रशासनमा न्यायाधीशको काम गर्दथ्यो । विचारीलाई मुद्दा छिन्ने अधिकार हुन्थ्यो । पर्वत राज्यका विभिन्न प्रादेशिक एकाइमा विचारी नियुक्त हुन्थे भन्ने बुझिन्छ । एउटा पत्रमा^{५६} विचारी आदि मई गुह्लाई विर्ता साँध लगाई दिएको कुरो परेको छ । यसबाट विचारीलाई भूमि सम्बन्धी अधिकार पनि दिइएको थियो भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ । कीर्तिवम मल्लले गरिदिएको अभिलेखमा^{५७} विचारी साक्षी वसेका छन् ।

सुवेदार

सुवेदार सैनिक अधिकारीको पद हो । सदाँर तथा उमराको मातहतमा रही सुवेदारले काम गर्नु पर्दथ्यो । पर्वतका तात्कालिक अभिलेखमा^{५८} सुवेदार साक्षीको रूपमा रहेको छ ।

दानी

'दानी' पद नेपालको प्रशासनिक इतिहासमा नौलो देखा परेको छ । तात्कालिक अभिलेखहरूबाट^{५९} दानी पदमा रणायुद्ध रहेका थिए भन्ने देखिन्छ । दानीको कामवारेमा स्पष्ट हुँदैन ।

देशाली

पर्वतको ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीमा 'दिशाली' देशाली^{६०} शब्दको प्रयोग भएको पाइन्छ । यो पद प्रशासनिक दृष्टिले महत्वपूर्ण रहेको थियो । देश र आली शब्द मिली देशाली बनेको छ । यसबाट निश्चित प्रदेश विशेषका व्यक्तिलाई देशाली मनिएको बुझिन्छ । दोलखामा देशाली नै 'देसवार' कहलाएको थियो । अपराधीलाई दण्ड गर्ने अधिकार देशालीलाई हुन्थ्यो । देवीस्थान तथा गुम्बाका फुमा, वैरागी लामाको व्यवस्था बाँधिएको एउटा अभिलेखमा^{६१} दिशाली बुढा मई दण्ड गर्नु भन्ने व्यवहारा परेको छ । यसबाट दिशालीको अधिकारवारे केही स्पष्ट हुन्छ । देशालीलाई आर्थिक आम्दानीको व्यवस्था पनि गरिएको थियो^{६२} ।

पञ्चायत

पर्वत राज्यको प्रशासनिक इतिहासमा फन्चको पनि महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेको थियो । लिच्छविकालदेखि सक्रिय रहेको यो फन्चायत प्रथा मध्यकाल र आधुनिककालसम्म पनि कायम रहेको पाइन्छ^{६३} ।

पर्वतका राजा कीर्तिवम मल्लले गरिदिएको एउटा अभिलेखमा^{६४} 'सात्सय पाँच' को उल्लेख परेको छ । प्रत्येक घुरी एक फन्चका हिसावले गणना गरिने हुँदा थाक सात शयका फन्चहरू यही अनुरूप भएको बुझिन्छ । यहाँ सात शय घुरीलाई 'सात शय पाँच'को संज्ञा दिइएको हो । सात शय पाँचले भेट्टी स्वरूप केही रकम चढाई गरेको माग राजा कीर्तिवम मल्लले पुरा गरिदिएको व्यहोरा परेको छ । देश निर्माण गर्नु जस्ता सार्वजनिक निर्माणको कार्यमा यी फन्च एक मर्ह जुट्थे । यसताका पाल्पाका राजा महादत्त सेनद्वारा तानसेन शहर बसाउने सन्दर्भमा वि.सं. १८४४ को अभिलेखमा^{६५} 'मिहनत २६ हजार फन्चकै' भन्ने उल्लेख परेबाट पनि स्पष्ट हुन्छ । वि.सं. १८५२ को एउटा पत्रमा^{६६} थाकका फन्चलाई नारीकोट देवस्थान जाने बाटो बनाउने जस्तो सार्वजनिक काम अड्याइएको छ ।

वि.सं. १७७७ को एउटा पत्रमा^{६७} पर्वत राज्यमा फन्चायतको कामवारे केही प्रकाश परेको छ । तात्कालिक राजा मलेवम मल्लको शासनकालमा अंश सम्बन्धी एउटा मुद्दा फन्चायतले हिनेको व्यहोरा परेको छ । यस पत्रमा मुद्दा फन्चायतमा पेश गरिँदा फन्चायतले दुवै पक्षलाई परस्परमा मिल्ने सल्लाह दिँदा दिँदै पनि दुवै पक्षले फन्चायतलाई नै मुद्दा हिन्ने अमिलारा सुम्पेकाले फन्चायतले हिनी दिएको व्यहोरा परेको छ । यसबाट फन्चायतलाई मुद्दा मामिला हिन्ने अधिकार दिइएको थियो भन्ने कुरो स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

चौवीसी राज्यहरूमा अखिलेसम्म प्राप्त फन्चायत सम्बन्धी उल्लेख भएका ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरूमध्ये प्यूठानका राजा पृथ्वीपति शाहले वि.सं. १७६० मा गरिदिएको ताम्रपत्राभिलेख^{६८} पहिलो देखिएको छ । त्यस अभिलेखमा राजा फन्च मिली धार्मिक व्यवस्था थाम्ने व्यहोरा परेको छ ।

पजनीप्रथा

पर्वतमा पजनीप्रथा थियो । तात्कालिक एउटा पत्रमा^{६९} '..... पजनी पनि उत्तिकै छ, २।४ दिनमा पजनी थाम्नु गरौंला भन्थ्यो जस्तो लाग्छ.....' भन्ने व्यहोरा परेको छ । अभिलेखहरूमा उल्लिखित विभिन्न सरकारी कर्मचारीहरूको पद र समयमा दृष्टि दियो भने पनि यो कुरो स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

[illegible]

आर्थिक अवस्था

कृषि:-

चौबीसी राज्यमध्येका पाल्पा, प्यूठान, तनहुँ जस्तो पर्वत राज्य पहाड र तराई प्रदेशमा फैलिएको नहुनु र अधिकांश भू-भाग पर्वत पर्वतले ढाकिनु जस्तो मौसमीक कारणले पर्वत राज्यमा कृषि योग्य जमीनको कमी रहेको थियो । कालीगण्डकी, म्याग्दी, मोदी, वडीगाड आदि नदीले वनाएको उपत्यका कृषि योग्य थियो भने पहाडमा केही पाखा जमीन मात्र । यस कारणले पर्वतका वासिन्दाले राज्यवाहिरबाट कर तिरी खाद्यान्न वेसाउनु पर्ने अवस्था पनि आउथ्यो ।

पर्वत राज्यको उत्तरमा पर्ने थाक सोला मेकका भू-भाग ढुङ्गे र बलुई मालभूमि भएको हुनाले खेतीपाती नदीको किनारमा सीमित थियो । यस मेकका पहाडी भागमा धूपीसल्ला जस्ता सदावहार वनस्पति पाइन्छन् । वन फाँटी पाखा वाली लगाउने, वनका काठहल्लाई वाल्नेदेखि लिएर घर बनाउने, खाना छाउने, गोबरसँग सल्लेपीर आदि मिलाई मल बनाउने आदि काममा वन उपयोगी हुन्छ । जनसंख्याको अनुपातमा कृषि उत्पादन न्यून रहने हुँदा आवश्यक खाद्यान्नको पूर्ति गर्न आवश्यक हुन्थ्यो भने कृषि उत्पादनका लागि वन पालन गर्न पनि उत्तिकै आवश्यक हुन्थ्यो । पर्वतका राजा कीर्तिवम मल्लले गरिदिएका वन सम्बन्धी ताम्रपत्रामिलेखहरू यस सन्दर्भमा महत्त्वपूर्ण रहेका छन् ।

वि.सं. १८२८ को एउटा अभिलेखमा^{७०} नाम्पुकोट र फुन्तिहिता गाउँका बीच भएको वन सम्बन्धी फगडाको उल्लेख परेको छ । यस अनुसार नाम्पुकोट गाउँको वन अघि फुन्तिहिता गाउँलाई दिइएकोमा पछि कीर्तिवम मल्ल समक्ष नाम्पुकोट गाउँले रु.६५१- पाय (मेटी) राखी विन्ती गरेकोमा सो वनको सीमाना छुट्याई नाम्पुकोटलाई सुम्पिएको व्यहोरा परेको छ । वि.सं. १८३० को अर्को एक अभिलेखमा^{७१} नाम्पुकोट गाउँले पाएको वन अरु टोलले नपाउने र सो वनमा भुर्जुकोट गाउँलाई गाई वस्तु चढाउन र गोबर टिप्न निषेध गरेको छ । कहीं कहीं तोकिएको सीमाना भित्रको वन पालन गर्न र विद्याउनका लागि मात्र पनि वन दिइएको पाइन्छ^{७२} । कति वन त टोल टोललाई निश्चित सीमानाका वनमा आफ्नो सुसी गर्न पाउने अधिकार प्रदान गरिएको छ^{७३} भने कहीं पुर्ख्यौली अधिकार पनि दिलाईएको^{७४} पाइन्छ ।

वनवाहेक सेत सम्बन्धी फगडा परेको उदाहरण पनि पाइएको छ । वि.सं. १८३५ को एउटा अभिलेखमा^{७५} ताक्लुङ्ग गाउँले रु.७००१- मेटी राखी विन्ती गरेकोमा कीर्तिवम मल्लले फगडा छिनी दिएको व्यहोरा परेको छ । यसमा निर्धारित सीमाभित्रका ढुङ्गा, माटो, काठ, पात, णास णुस (?) नीत नात (?) ताक्लुङ्ग गाउँलाई सुम्पेको छ ।

उपर्युक्त ताम्रपत्रहरूबाट कीर्तिवम मल्लले वन-पालन र वन फाँटी कृषि उत्पादन गर्ने तर्फ ध्यान दिएको देखिन्छ भने कतै वनको सट्टा केही रकम लिएको उदाहरण पाइन्छ ।

जग्गा बन्धक राखी वा बेची राजाले पैसा लिने चलन त्यसताका लमजुडो, गुल्मी, पाल्पा आदि चौबीसी राज्यहरूमा पनि चलेको थियो^{७६}। पर्वत राज्यको आम्दानीका केही स्रोतमध्ये जग्गा बन्धक राखी पैसा लिने एक थियो भन्ने कुरा केही कागज पत्रहरूबाट^{७७} पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

पशुपालन -

पर्वत राज्यअन्तर्गतका अग्ला अग्ला पहाडी क्षेत्र पशुपालन गर्नका लागि उपयुक्त रहेको थियो । प्रायः गरेर हिमरेखामन्दा मुनिका प्रदेशमा वुकीहरू फलाउने र फारपात काँडाको बुट्यान पोथ्रा पोथ्रीहरू प्रशस्त मात्रामा पाइने हुँदा पशुपालन व्यवसायका लागि यो प्रदेश उपयुक्त थियो ।

वि.सं. १७८६ को एउटा अभिलेखमा^{७८} कीर्तिविम मल्लका पिता प्रियव्रत मल्लले पशु चढाउनाका लागि सक्ने दिएको कुरोबाट पनि त्यसताका पशुपालन व्यवसायलाई राजातर्फबाट पनि प्रोत्साहन मिलेको थियो भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ । पशुपालन व्यवसाय पर्वत राज्यको अर्को दरो आर्थिक स्रोत रहेको थियो । वि.सं. १८८६ सम्म पनि पर्वतबाट हजारौं धानी ध्यु र सयौं राठी काठमाडौं कोट मण्डारमा दाखिल भएबाट^{७९} पनि यसको केही पुष्टि हुन्छ । आजसम्म पनि त्यस भेकमा पशुपालन गरिएको पाइन्छ ।

व्यापार -

नेपालको उत्तर र दक्षिणमा भोट र भारत देश परेकाले यी दुवै देशसँग नेपालको व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध रहनु स्वाभाविक छ । भारतबाट नेपाल आउन त्यति धेरै गाह्रो थिएन । यी दुवै देशको बीचमा पर्ने जङ्गल र जङ्गलका हिंस्रक जन्तुदेखि हुने डर आदिको मात्र कठिनाई थियो । तर भोटसम्म पुग्नलाई धेरै कठिनाईको सामना गर्नु पर्दथ्यो । त्यसताका नेपालबाट भोट जाने पाँच मार्ग बढी चल्तीका थिए । तीमध्ये भारतबाट पर्वतको वेणी शहर महँ शक्यामठ र त्यहाँबाट भोट पस्ने चल्तीको बाटो थियो^{८०}। वेणीबाट कुश्माचौर, रिडी, पाल्पा, मोह्याक, नुवाकोट हुँदै वुटवल पुग्ने बाटो चल्तीको थियो ।

पर्वत राज्यताका कुश्माचौर र वाग्लुडो पनि व्यापारको दृष्टिले केन्द्र बनेका थिए । यी ठाउँमा नेवार व्यापारीहरू कीर्तिविम मल्लका पालामा आइसकेका थिए । नेवार व्यापारीहरू श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको नेपाल उपत्यका विजय हुनु भन्दा धेरै अघि पश्चिमतर्फ लागि सकेका थिए भन्ने कुरा त्यसतर्फ प्राप्त भएका ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीबाट देखिन आएको छ । कीर्तिविम मल्लले कुश्माचौरका महेश्वर नेवारलाई वि.सं. १८३८ मा गरिदिएको ताम्रपत्राभिलेख^{८१} महत्त्वपूर्ण रहेको छ । यसअनुसार महेश्वरले राजा कीर्तिविम मल्ललाई रु.१०११- चढाई सेवा गरे वापत उनलाई घर घडेरी दिई निकास माफगी गरिदिएको व्यहोरा परेको छ ।

यसको दुइ वर्ष पछि वि.सं. १८४० मा कीर्तिवम मल्लले भादगाउँका राजा रणजित् मल्लका छोरा अवधूतसिंहलाई वाग्लुङ० बजारको उत्तरपट्टिको उपल्लाचौरमा घेरेरी वित्ता दिई निकासामे त माफी दिएको ताम्रपत्राभिलेख^{८२} पनि उत्तिकै महत्त्वपूर्ण रहेको छ ।

पर्वत राज्यका चट्टानदार पहाडहरूमा तामा, फलाम, गन्धक, शीशा आदि विभिन्न प्रकारका खनिज पदार्थ रहेको हुँदा यी पदार्थको निकासामा व्यापारबाट राज्यलाई निकै लाभ हुन्थ्यो^{८३} । तामाको बिक्री त राणाकालसम्म पनि हुँदै गरेको कुरा केही पत्रहरूबाट^{८४} थाहा भएको छ । उत्पादन गरिएका खनिज पदार्थबाट राज्यलाई आवश्यक पर्ने कुटी, कोदालो आदि कृषि औजार र युद्धका लागि माला, खुकुरी आदि हतियार तयार गरिन्थे । पर्वतमा उत्पादन हुने घ्यू, फलाम, तामा, ऊनी कपडा आदि भारततर्फ र तामा चरेश आदि मोटतर्फ निकासामा हुन्थ्यो । भारतबाट ल्याइने लत्ता कपडा मसला आदि वस्तु मोटतर्फ पठाइने हुँदा पर्वत राज्यको राजस्वमा वृद्धि भएको थियो । भैँडा वाग्रा आदि जन्तुको व्यापार हुन्थ्यो । यस भेकका व्यापारी भारतको गोरखपुरसम्म पनि व्यापार गर्न पुग्दथे^{८५} । ढुवानीको साधन नभएको त्यसवेला मानिस र खच्चड आदिद्वारा नै काम चलाइन्थ्यो । यसरी पर्वत राज्य व्यापारिक मार्गमा परेको हुँदा मन्सारबाट राज्यलाई निकै आर्थिक लाभ हुन्थ्यो ।

पर्वत राज्यमा तामा, फलाम आदि विभिन्न खनिज पदार्थबाहेक कालीगण्डकी, म्याग्दी, मोदी आदि नदीका किनारमा सुनका कण पाइन्छन् । वि.सं. १८२६ को एउटा अभिलेखमा^{८६} 'सुन खोला' को उल्लेख परेको छ । यहाँ सुनको कण वढी पाइने हुँदा यो नाम रहेको बुझिन्छ । कालीगण्डकीको उत्तरी भेकमा शालीग्राम निकै पाइन्छन् । यी शालीग्राम-मित्र सुनका कण रहेका हुन्छन् । यसो हुँदा त्यस भेकका व्यक्तिहरूले शालीग्राम फोडी सुन फिकी व्यापार समेत गर्दथे । यो कार्य धार्मिक दृष्टिले उचित नहुने हुँदा यसको रोकथामका लागि राणा प्रधान मंत्री वीर शम्शेरले प्रयास गरेका थिए^{८७} । यस भेकमा सुनको खानी हुन सक्ने संकेत पनि मिलेको थियो^{८८} ।

यस भेकका बाँटेहरूमा कालीगण्डकी आदि नदीका किनारमा वालुवा चाली सुन निकाल्ने परंपरा छ । यो कार्य प्रायः जाडो महीनामा हुने गर्दछ । यसताका वर्षाको बाढीद्वारा फ्याँकिएका वालुवा पुरानो र सुख्खा मईसक्ने हुँदा खान्न सजिलो हुने गर्दछ । तीन महीना जति तीन जना यस काममा लाग्न सके दुइ तोला वरावरको सुन निकाल्न सकिन्छ भन्ने स्थानीय बाँटेहरूको भनाइ छ ।

मुद्रा -

स्वतन्त्र मुद्रा ढाल्ने पद्धति प्राचीनकालदेखि नै शुरू भएको हो । राजा मानदेवको 'मानाढू' नामक तामाका मुद्रादेखि शुरू भएको यो क्रम पछिसम्म पनि कायम रहेको थियो । नेपालमा चाँदीको खानी नहुँदा लिच्छविकालदेखि नै तामाको मुद्राको प्रसार वढी भएको

थियो । मध्यकालमा चाँदीको मुद्राको प्रचलन देखा परे पनि तामाको मुद्राको प्रसार कार्यम थियो ।

पर्वतका प्रसिद्ध राजा मलेवमका पालामा तामाका पैसा प्रचलनमा आएको कुरो वि.सं. १७६५ को ताम्रपत्रामिलेखबाट^{८९} थाहा भएको छ । नेपाल उपत्यका तथा दोलखाका राजाहरू-वाहेक अरू चाँदीको राजाहरूका स्वतन्त्र टकवारै विशेष कुरो ज्ञात हुन सकेको थिएन । पर्वतका अन्तिम राजा कीर्तिवम मल्लद्वारा जारी गरिएका उन्नाइस ताम्रपत्र प्राप्त भएका छन् । दुइ वाहेक सबै जसो ताम्रपत्रको शिरो भागमा उर्दू लिपि कुँदिएको मोहर छाप लागेका छन् । कीर्तिवम मल्लको मुद्रा छाप परेका यी दुइ तामापत्रबाट^{९०} त्यसताकाको मुद्रा शैलीबारे केही प्रकाश पर्दछ ।

मुद्रा गोलाकारको छ । मुद्राको वृत्त रेखाभित्र वरिपरि 'श्रीमत्कीर्तिवम मल्ल देवस्येय' मुद्रा अक्षर कुँदिएको छ । बीचमा अर्को सानो वृत्त रेखा खिचिएको छ । त्यस रेखाभित्र माथिल्लो भागमा 'त्रिशूल' र तल्लो भागमा 'धनुर्वाण'को चित्र अङ्कित छन् । त्रिशूल र धनुर्वाण चित्रका बीच भागमा 'श्रीराम' अक्षर कुँदिएको छ । प्रायः मल्ल तथा शाह राजाहरू राजगद्दीमा बसेको भित्तिमा मुद्रा प्रसार गर्ने पद्धति रहेको देखिन्छ । यी राजाहरूद्वारा जारी गरिएका ताम्रपत्रका शिरोभागमा मुद्रा छाप लगाइएका पाइन्छन् । तर कीर्तिवम मल्लले गरि-दिएका यी ताम्रपत्रमा अङ्कित मुद्रा छापमा तिथिमिति दिइएका छैनन् । यसो हुँदा यी मुद्रा छाप प्रसारमा आएका कीर्तिवम मल्लकै मुद्रा हुन् वा होइनन् भन्ने कुरो अरू सोजीको विषय भएको छ ।

तात्कालिक पर्वत राज्यको राजधानी वेणीस्थित कोटमण्डारसँगै पश्चिमपट्टि टक्सार रहेको थियो । सो टक्सार वि.सं. १९३४ सम्म सक्रिय रह्यो र वि.सं. १९६७ मा बन्द भएको बुझिन्छ^{९१} ।

सामाजिक पक्ष -

नेपालका अरू प्रख्यात राजाहरू जस्तै धार्मिक कुरामा कीर्तिवम मल्ल उदार थिए । विशेष गरी कीर्तिवम मल्ल वैष्णव सम्प्रदायमा बढी श्रद्धा राख्दथे । कृष्ण गण्डकीले (शालीग्रामी) सिचेको भूमि वैष्णव दोत्र मानिएको छ । यस नदीको प्रवाहसँगसँगै वैष्णव सम्प्रदायको लहर चलेको थियो भन्ने कुरा यस नदीका निकटवर्ती राज्य गुल्मी, पाल्पा, तनहुँ आदिका राजाहरू स्वयम् वैष्णव सम्प्रदाय अन्तर्गतका राम र कृष्णका भक्त देखिएबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । कीर्तिवम मल्लका पूर्वज डिम्बवम, मलेवम आदि राजाहरू राम र कृष्णका भक्त थिए । कीर्तिवम मल्लले जारी गरेका ताम्रपत्रामिलेख, पत्रहरूका शिरोभागमा 'श्रीराम' शब्द र मुद्रा छापमा धनुर्वाणको चित्र अङ्कित गरिनुबाट उक्त कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

वि.सं. १८३४ को एउटा ताम्रपत्रबाट^{६२} कीर्तिवम मल्लको धार्मिक धारणाबारे केही प्रकाश पर्दछ । यिनमा पुरश्चरण आदि धार्मिक कार्यको प्रभाव निकै परेको देखिन्छ । हुन त यता गोरखाका राजा नरमूपाल शाह आफैँ पुरश्चरण गर्दथे । श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको पनि पुरश्चरणमा निकै श्रद्धा थियो । यसै गरी कीर्तिवम मल्लले नवरात्रमा पुरश्चरण गर्नका निमित्त गुरु सन्तानलाई दक्षिणा स्वरूप वित्त दिई केही कर आदिबाट मुक्त गरी सुविधाको व्यवस्था गरिदिएका थिए । यसबाट त्यस समयमा पुरश्चरणको प्रभाव निकै परेको थाहा हुन्छ ।

कीर्तिवम मल्लको शाक्त सम्प्रदायमा पनि उत्तिकै श्रद्धा थियो । वाग्लुङ्गोचौरकी कालिका देवीलाई '..... समालका चौद पुस्तादेखि गुठी राख्नुको रहेछ.....' मन्ने व्यहोरा परेको वि.सं. १८५६ को एक पत्र^{६३} प्राप्त भएको छ । वंशावलीअनुसार कीर्तिवम मल्ल चौधौँ पुस्तामा पर्ने देखिएकोले यिनैले भगवतीलाई गुठी जग्गा चढाएको कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

कीर्तिवम मल्लको शैव सम्प्रदायमा पनि श्रद्धा रहेको थियो मन्ने कुरा यिनको एउटा मुद्रा छापमा त्रिशूल चित्र अङ्कित भएकोबाट थाहा हुन्छ ।

कीर्तिवम मल्ल वैष्णव, शाक्त, शैव सम्प्रदायबाहेक बौद्ध धर्म अन्तर्गतका लामा धर्ममा पनि श्रद्धा राख्दथे । मन्ने कुरा कोवाङ्गका देवस्थान तथा गुम्बाका वैरागी लामा र फुमा आदिको व्यवस्था बाँधिदिएको वि.सं. १८३१ को ताम्रपत्रबाट^{६४} स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

नेपालको उत्तरी भेकमा निकै गुम्बाहरू रहेका छन् । गुम्बामा फुमा, वैरागी, लामाहरू बसी धार्मिक पूजा पाठ गर्ने परंपरा रहेको छ । परंपरा अनुसार माहिलो छोरा भिदु र माहिली छोरी फुमा बन्ने भएकोले त्यसताकाका गुम्बामा यिनीहरूको संख्या बढी हुन्थ्यो । यिनीहरू गुम्बामा नवसेर गाउँ घरमा रही गुम्बाको धार्मिक कार्यमा संलग्न हुन सक्दथे । माहिलो छोरो पूख्यौली सम्पत्तिको हकदार नहुने हुँदा प्रत्येक परिवारले एक टुक्रा जमीन गुम्बामा भिदु हुन जाने माहिला छोराको निमित्त छुट्याइराखेको हुन्छ^{६५} ।

फुमा तथा लामाहरूको गुम्बामा प्रवेश, दण्ड तथा निष्कासनबारे विभिन्न गुम्बामा भिन्दा भिन्दै नियमहरू छन् । गुम्बामा रहँदा यिनीहरूले धर्म छाडे दण्डित हुन्थे । विराट हेरी दण्डको तह निर्धारित भएको बुझिएको छ । यदि गुम्बाका कुनै फुमाले कुनै अरु व्यक्तिसँग अनुचित सम्बन्ध राखेको पाइयो भने उनले (फुमाले) मकुण्डाको रूपमा फाटेको टोपी लगाई गुम्बाको परिक्रमा गर्नु पर्ने तथा आर्थिक दण्डका साथै गुम्बाबाट निष्कासित पनि हुनु पर्ने नियम छ^{६६} भने कुनै दोषी ठहरिएको फुमाले दण्ड स्वरूप गुम्बाका सबै फुमा-लाई चियापान गराउने, सबैका अगाडि १०८ पल्ट ढोंग गर्ने तथा गुम्बामा बत्ती वालु पर्ने नियम रहेको^{६७} पाइन्छ ।

कीर्तिवम मल्लले व्यवस्था बाधिएको यो अभिलेखमा भने सात शय थाकका कुनै व्यक्ति-
ले फुमासंग विराए (अनुचित सम्बन्ध राखे), वैरागी लामाले फुमालाई र राजाले सात शय
थाकको सो व्यक्तिलाई दण्ड गरी आ-आफूले दण्ड-रकम लिने र एक अर्कोको दण्डमा लोभ
गर्न नपाउने कुरो परेको छ । यसरी नै सात शयका छोरी वुहारीसंग वैरागी लामाले अनुचित
सम्बन्ध राखेको पाइएमा वैरागी लामालाई गरिएको दण्ड-रकम अरू लामाले लिन पाउने र
सात शयको दण्ड राजाले लिन पाउने गरियो । वैरागी लामाले फुमासंग अनुचित सम्बन्ध
राखेमा दुवैलाई राजाले दण्ड गरी रकम लिने र वैरागी लामा र फुमालाई सत लगाउने तर
फुमा र लामाले देवस्थानमित्र अनुचित सम्बन्ध राखे भने चाहिँ राजाले यसमा हस्तक्षेप गर्न
नपाउने व्यवस्था बाधिएको छ । फुमा तथा लामाको भने निष्कासन गरिदैनथ्यो ।

उपर्युक्त उदाहरणहरूबाट कीर्तिवम मल्ल सर्व धार्मिक सम्प्रदायमा श्रद्धा राख्दथे; यिनमा
धार्मिक उदारता रहेको कुरा छर्लङ्ग हुन्छ ।

कीर्तिवम मल्लले वि.सं. १८३७ मा गरिएको अपुताली सम्बन्धी ताम्रपत्रबाट^{६८} तात्का-
लिक समाजमा चलेको रीतिस्थितिवारे केही प्रकाश पर्दछ । यस अभिलेखमा पुरी मन्ने स्थानमा
अपुताली सम्बन्धमा कर्चिगल उठी राजामा बिन्ती गर्दा राजाले अपुताली माफी गरिदिएको
कुरो परेको छ ।

अपुताली भनेको सन्तान नहुने व्यक्तिको अंश हो । मृत व्यक्तिको छोरा नभए उनको
स्वास्ती छोरीहरूले र स्वास्ती छोरीहरू पनि नभए मृत व्यक्तिका दाजु भाइले अपुताली खान
पाउने नियम छ । मृत व्यक्तिको दाजु भाइ सलकमा अपुताली खाने कोही निस्केनन् भने त्यो
अपुताली सरकारको हुन्थ्यो । अपुताली खान पाउनेले अपुताली खान्न भने कर लाग्दैन । तर
अपुताली खाए पनि नखाए पनि सद्गति भने गर्नु पर्दथ्यो । हकवालाले अपुताली नखाएमा भनेको
सद्गति गरी बाँकी रहेको सम्पत्ति साहू भए साहूले दामासाहीले पाउँछन् । साहू नै नभए सर्व
र साहू तिरी बढता भए जति सम्पत्ति सरकारको हुन्छ ।

तर यस अभिलेखमा कुन व्यक्तिलाई अपुताली माफी गरिदिएको हो सो कुरो भने
यहाँ खुल्दैन । यहाँ रु.४८०।- सितौं सदा फौं तिर्नु मन्ने व्यहोरा परेकोले पुरी स्थानीय
प्रशासकद्वारा प्रशासित प्रदेश भई सो प्रशासकले यो सितौं कर स्वरूप केन्द्रका शासकलाई
बुझाएको हो कि मन्ने बुझिन्छ । यस किसिमको कर स्थानीय जनतामा पनि लाग्दथ्यो ।
यस बाहेक रु.६०।- पनि दशैमा बुझाउनु पर्ने व्यहोरा परेको छ ।

कीर्तिवम मल्लका केही अभिलेख

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मुस्ताङ ० जिल्लामा पर्ने थाक खोलाका तेह्र मुख्यहरूको संग्रहमा १५ वटा ताम्रपत्राभिलेख रहेका छन् । तीमध्ये कीर्तिवम मल्लका १४ वटा अभिलेखहरूका पाठ अभिलेख संख्या १ देखि ११, १३, १५ र १७ मा दिइएका छन् ।

श्रीरामः

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज कीर्तिवम मल्ल देवज्यूले
२. नाम्मुकोट्याको वन् फुतिहिताकीन हिजो दि-
३. याँको आज नाम्मुकोट्याले रूपआ ६५ अ-
४. दारेपि रूपआ पद्मशठी पाया राणि विति
५. ग-या र नाम्मुकोट्याको वन् नाम्मुकोट्याक-
६. न वक्सनु मयो भ्राह्मणेति पध्यारादेणि उ-
७. मो लाक्यु णोलाको साध गुसि जोराताजो-
८. पेजो हिल्या णर्क वराहाको वाटो महमीर-
९. देणि उमो नाम्मुकोटको पाणो सहवाटादेणि उ-
१०. धो वाक्राका वाटादेणि उमो मुजुकोटको र नाम्मु-
११. कोटको साजो सहवाटादेणि उधो षेत तुल्याया
१२. पनि वन् पाल्या पनि वेच्या पनि नाम्मुकोट्याको
१३. णुसी यस् वातका साद्वी काजी रमेश मल्ल णोला-
१४. का ठाकु(र) कलिमर्दन मल्ल दिशालि वलिर्वदन मल्ल
१५. मणि मल्ल पीतावकीपदारि देउमक्त णजाति राज
१६. चक्र कलिया वाक्च दया-या श्रीशाके १६६३ पाँ-
१७. ण मासे लिखित श्रीकृष्ण ज्योतिर्विदा शुभ ।

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श्रीराम

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजा की तिविम्ब मल्लदेवज्यूले
२. राकुतानि पाच टोलाले ३०० अदारेपि तीन
३. सय रूपआ पाया राणि विति गन्या र सिमुधु-
४. को वन् ताकुलुंग जान्या वाटादेणि उमो धुन्-
५. वाका डाढादेणि उधो साध गरिवक्सनु मयो
६. वन् राष्या पनि णुसि विहाह णाया पनि णुसि य-
७. सु वातका सादिा काजी रमेश मल्ल णोलाका
८. ठाकुर्लीमद्वनमल्ल दिशालि दमन मल्ल रण
९. मल्ल. कलवीर. पितावर. श्रीमक्त. मुक्तिराम व-
१०. हीक बुद्धि प्रकास कपदारि रणायुध्य मीउक-
११. णं सजांति कासिवर्जुत्तु णात्री कलिया वाक्च-
१२. न् प्रीति राम दुवा-या श्रीशाके १६६४ फाल्-
१३. गुन शुक्ल ३ वुधे मुकाम वेणी लिखित
१४. श्रीकृष्ण ज्योतिर्विदा शुभम्

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श्रीराम

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमाहाराजा कीर्तिवम मल्ल देवज्यु-
२. ले -----
३. भुर्जुकोट्याले ६० रूपया अदारेपि शाठी
४. रूपया पाया राणि विति ग-या दशिउघ
५. जान्या वाटादेशि उभो शुन्णोलादेशि पुढो पा-
६. हा णोलादेशि वुढो डाढादेशि उभो तेति वन्
७. पालन वक्सनुमयो वर सागु जान्या वाटादे-
८. णि उभो धुन्वाका डाढादेशि उभो तेति वन
९. विहाह पान वक्सनुमयो यस् वातका सादि
१०. काजि रमेश मल्ल णोलाका ठाकुर्कलिमर्द-
११. न मल्ल दिशालि रणमल्ल. वलवीर. पीताव-
१२. र. श्रीमक्त मुक्तिराम वहीक. बुद्धि प्रकास
१३. कपदारि. रणायुध्य. मीउकर्ण सजाति. का-
१४. सिवर्जुठु णात्रि कलिया. प्रीतिराम. वाक्च-
१५. न दुवाच्या श्रीशाके १६६४ फाल्गुन शुदि १०
१६. रोज ५ मुकाम वेणी लिखित श्रीकृष्ण ज्यो-
१७. तिर्विदा शुभम्

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श्रीराम

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजा कितिविम्ब मल्ल देव-
२. ज्यूले -----
३. नारिकोट्या पांच टोलाले १०० रूपया अदा-
४. रैपि शय रूपया राणि विंति ग-या र गढ-
५. कीदेणि उंमो मान्या पान्यादेणि उंमो थापा णो-
६. लादेणि पुढो तेति वन् विहाइ णान वक्सनुम-
७. यो यस् वातका साक्षा काजि रमेश मल्ल णो-
८. लाका ठाकुर्कलिमर्दन मल्ल दिशालि दम-
९. नं मल्ल रणै मल्ल.वलवीर.पितावर.श्री-
१०. भक्त.मुक्तिराम वहीक.बुद्धि प्रकास कपदा-
११. र.रणायुध्य.भीउकर्ण झाति कासिवर्जुठु
१२. णात्रि कलिया.प्रीतिराम वाक्चन् दुवा-या
१३. श्रीशाके १६६४ फाल्गुन शुदि १० रोज ५
१४. मुकाम वेणी लिखित श्रीकृष्ण ज्योति-
१५. विंदा शुभम् -

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श्रीरामः

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजा कीर्तिवम्व मल्ल देवज्यूले
२. कोवाहठतानि तीन टोलाले दुइ शय रूपन्ना अ-
३. केपि २०० रूपन्ना पाया राणि विंति गन्या र राउ-
४. षुका पानिदेणि उमो.साष्कुका षोलादेणि उघो
५. तेति वन् कोवाहठतानी तीन टोलाको पुष्यालि
६. बक्सनुमयो यस् वातका सादिा कविनारायण
७. मल्ल.ईन्द्रध्वज मल्ल सिशालि.श्रीकृस्न मल्ल.रण
८. मल्ल.वलवीर.पीतावर.श्रीमक्त.मुक्तिराम वही-
९. क. बुद्धि प्रकाश कपदारि.रणयुध्य.भीउकर्ण षा-
१०. जाँति.कासिवजुठु षात्रि कलिया. जशिवंत जिउन्
११. दास हुवान्या श्रीशाके १६६५ वैशाख शुक्ल ६ बुधे
१२. मुकाम वेणी लिखित श्रीकृस्न ज्योतिर्विदा शुभ

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श्रीरामः

१. स्वस्ति श्री ६ मन्महाराजाधिराज कीतिविम्ब
२. मल्ल देवज्यूले
३. नाम्मकोटका वनमध्य अरु टोलाळे विंती गर्न आ-
४. या नदिनु. षेत विहाया पनि वन राष्या पनि ना-
५. म्मकोट्याको षुसी. नाम्मकोट्याका वनमाहा मुजु-
६. कोट्याका अघय नवहाउनु आप्नाग्रातमाहा गो-
७. वटिप्प पनि नदिनु चालिस रूपैया पाया राषी
८. विंती गन्या र वक्सनुमयो. एस्वातका सादगी कविनारा-
९. यण मल्ल. षोलाका ठाकुर इन्द्र ध्वज मल्ल रण मल्ल श्री-
१०. कृष्ण मल्ल. पीतावर. मुक्तिराम वहिक. श्रीमक्त
११. बुद्धि प्रकाश कपदारि. रणायुद्ध भीमकर्ण षजवी जसि-
१२. उत जिउंदास द्वा-या. काशीवर जुठु षात्री कलिया श्री
१३. शाके १६६५ वैसाख मासे लक्ष्मी नारायण ज्योति-
१४. विंदा लिखित शुभम् भूयात्

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श्रीरामो जयति नमः

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री^३
२. मत्कीर्तिवम्व मल्ल देवज्यूले
३. देवस्थानका सब वैरागी लामाले घुम्वाका सब फिम-
४. ले १८० रूपैया अदारेपि एक शय असी रूपैया सि-
५. कका पाया राणी विंती गन्या र सात शयले घुम्वाका फि-
६. मुसित विराया फिमुकन देवस्थानका वैरागी लामा-
७. ले दण्ड गर्नु सात्सयकाह राजाले दण्ड गर्नु फिमुको द-
८. ढ वैरागी लामाले णानु सात्सयको दण्ड राजाले णा-
९. नु फिमुका दंड माहाराजाले लोभ नगर्नु सात्सयका
१०. दंडमाहा लामाले लोभ नगर्नु सात सयका ह्योरी बुहा-
११. रीसित वैरागी लामाले विराया दिशाली बुढा मर्ह द-
१२. ढ गरी लामाको दण्ड लामाले लिनु सात्सयको दंड
१३. राजाले लिनु फिमुसित वैरागी लामाले विराया रा-
१४. जाले दण्ड गर्नु वैरागी लामाको र फिमुको हातको च-
१५. प्कू आसाको टलक गरी णत लाउनु लाउन्य ला-
१६. गहन देवस्थानभित्र फिमूले र लामाले चो-या राजा-
१७. को णत हैन या गरुन् वैरागी लामाले गरुन् मनी
१८. वक्सनु भयो एस् वातका सादानी काजी शंभु नारायण
१९. कवि नारायण मल्ल णोलाका ठाकुर कलिमर्दन म-
२०. ल्ल गरुढ ध्वज मल्ल वलिर्बदन मल्ल बुद्धि प्रकास कप-
२१. दारि मिउकण शुक्लावर णजची काशीवर जुठु णत्री
२२. कलिया प्रतिविंद ह्यापदार - वाकचं प्रीतिराम दान्या
२३. जसिउत जिउन्दास चोपदार नंदुवीर रणै मल्ल व-
२४. लवीर पीतावर श्रीमक्त मुक्तिराम वहिक रुद्र वा-
२५. निम्ना माधौ चोणाल एति दिशाली स्वस्ति श्रीशाके
२६. १६६६ पाँण मासे लिखित लक्ष्मीनारायण ज्यो-
२७. तिर्विदा शुभम् मूयात् शुभम् मूयात्

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श्री रामो जयति

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिरा-
२. ज कीर्तिवम्ब मल्ल देवज्यूले
३. सात् शयलाई पुष्पांली वक्स्यामाहा.ष्वा-
४. राका सावलमाहा.टिट्यालसित ४ थर-
५. को फगरा मयो र.४ थरको पुष्पांली रहनु
६. र टिट्यालको पुष्पांली नरहनु क्या म-
७. नि ? साही पाय राणी टिट्यालले विंती
८. ग-या र.टिट्यालको पुष्पांली धामीव-
९. कसनुमयो.हिजो ज्या ज्या टिट्यालले
१०. ग-याको.आज उप्रान्त पाने गर्नु य-
११. सु वातका साक्षाति काजी गरुडध्व-
१२. ज मल्ल.शंभुनारायण मल्ल.वलि-
१३. वंदन मल्ल.णोलाका ठाकुर क-
१४. लिमर्दन मल्ल.असेत् वीरनाराय-
१५. ण मल्ल.बुद्धि प्रकाश कपदारी.सुरत
१६. संज्या चोप्दार.प्रतिविंद झाप्दार.शु-
१७. क्लावर.गंगाप्रसाद षार्जती.काशी-
१८. वर प्रताप षात्री कलिया.रणयुद्ध
१९. दानी.मीमकर्ण.श्रीभक्त.युधव-
२०. न् वहिक दिशाली.स्वस्ति श्रीशा-
२१. के १७०० चैत्र मासे दिन २७ गते
२२. भौमवासरे नवाकोट लिखित-
२३. मदि लक्ष्मी नारायणोन शुभम्

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श्रीरामो जयति

गहकी

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिरा-
२. ज कीर्तिवम्व मल्ल देवज्यूले
३. धंकी.धसाउ.धक्याउ.घ्युदी.ठुलो घ्युदी हो-
४. या. एति सेतमाहा फगरा फन्यो र ३ टोला ताक्-
५. लुंग्याले ७०० रुपैया अदारेपि सात् शय रुप-
६. आ सिक्का पाय राष्णि विंती गन्या र माधि पांचु.लु-
७. धार दहको चप्ल्या ढुंगोदेष्णि उधो. तल प्राट्या सू-
८. न्देष्णि उढो.... देष्णि उमो. प्रासुमदेष्णि पनि
९. उमो वुवरदेष्णि उढो. एतिको साध गरीवक्सनु-
१०. मयो.एति मल्ल भित्रको - ढुंगो.माटो.काठ.पात्
११. णास.णूस.नीत.नात.३ टोला ताक्लुंग्याकन
१२. पाको गरीवक्सनुमयो कमाया पनि वेच्या पनि
१३. वाफने राष्ण्या पनि आप्री णुसी लगर फगरा ना-
१४. स्ति.यस् वातका साही.काजी गरूह ध्वज मल्ल.
१५. शंभुनारायण मल्ल.वलिर्वदन मल्ल.णोला-
१६. का ठाकुर कलिमदन मल्ल.असैत् वीरनाराय-
१७. ण मल्ल.बुद्धि प्रकाश कपदीर.प्रतिविंद झाप्दा-
१८. र शुक्लावर.गंगाप्रसाद णजंती सुरत.संज्या चो-
१९. प्दार. प्रीतिराम दुव्वाच्या रणयुद्ध दानी.मीम
२०. कर्ण. श्रीमक्त.नघचन् वहिक.दिशाली. स्व-
२१. स्ति श्रीशाके १७०० चैत्र मासे दिन २७ गते ला-
२२. मागेह स्थाने लिखित लक्ष्मीनारायण ज्योति-
२३. विंदा.शुभम् भूयात्.शुभम् भूयात् -

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श्रीरामो जयति

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री
२. श्री श्री श्री कीर्तिवम्ब मल्ल दे-
३. वज्रूले
४. पांच टोला नाकौतानिले ४०० रूपैया अकेपि चासियु
५. पाया राणि. णिउ डाँडादेणि उधो नामूसादेणि उधो त्या-
६. पुसादेणि उधो नुमुँदेणि उधो वंगालुदेणि उमो अघे-
७. रि णोलादेणि ओढो लिप्यादेणि उमो आदेदेणि उधो
८. घट्या प्यालुदेणि उधो सेकणुकिा णेतदेणि उमो पा-
९. च टोलाले कोटका ढोलाटाजुतानिको घट्या णोला-
१०. को वावनाउनु थापिको पुहारदेणि उधो वंगालुको
११. वगदेणि उमो घोजादेणि पुढो गल्यादेणि उधो यति-
१२. मा पाच टोलाले वेच्या पनि विहाया पनि पाल्या
१३. पनि पाच टोलाको णुसी यस्तो गरीवक्सनु मयो य-
१४. स वातका साहि ला (का) जी गरुड ध्वज मल्ल शम्भुनाराय-
१५. ण मल्ल वलिबदन मल्ल णोलाका हाकुर्कलिमर्दन
१६. मल्ल. सदाँर दमन मल्ल. वलवीर. कुस्म काकि. णज-
१७. ति शुक्लावर गंगा प्रसाद. कपदार बुद्धि प्रकास. क-
१८. लिया सुर्वस प्रताप् णात्रि हाप्दार प्रतिविद. दा-
१९. -या प्रीतिराम् सूरथ जिउदास् संज्या देशाली ह-
२०. स्त घर मुक्तिराम् वहिक् आत्माराम् चोणाल वि-
२१. त्यारु ठालु मुत्यहितान् मुँपेक्किनपु. लेसक साहि
२२. रवि उपाध्या. श्रीशाके १७०१ श्रीसंवत्सरः १८३६
२३. फाल्गुन शुदी १४ रोज ४ मुकाम राजधानी वे-
२४. णि शुभम् भूयात् शुभम् ... भवतु

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श्रीरामो जयति

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधि-
२. राज श्री श्री श्री श्री श्रीकी-
३. तिविम्ब मल्ल देवज्यूले
४. सात्सय पाचहल्ले ६०० रूपआ अकैपि ६ सयू
५. पाया राणि लेत्याको चिस्तम् विंति गन्या. चंद-
६. लाई. सुनिच्यालाई लेत्यामा नदिनु सात्सय-
७. मित्र ५ वूढा ५ ठालु ५ ठालुले जाहा राण ताहा
८. रहनु. लेत्याका नौला षोत् एक पनि नराणनु प-
९. निवक्सनु मयो सात्सयले वेचि विद्वाह चिस्तम्
१०. राणि जस्तो गरी षाउ सात्सयको षुसी यस्मा लग-
११. रा फगरा नास्ति. धंपु सागुदेणि उयो लेत्याका घ-
१२. रदेणि उयो सात्सयको पाको. यस वातका सा-
१३. छि काजी गरुड ध्वज मल्ल शंभूनारायण मल्ल व-
१४. लिंवदन मल्ल. षोलाका ठाकुर्कलिमईन मल्ल
१५. सदारि दमन मल्ल वलवीर कृष्ण कार्कि. षजति
१६. शुक्लावर गंगा प्रसाद कलिया सूर्वस. प्रताप्
१७. षात्रि कपदारि बुद्धि प्रकास् ह्यापुदार प्रतिविंद
१८. द्वा-या प्रीतिराम् सूरथ जिउंदास्. संज्या दि-
१९. शाली हस्तधर मुक्तिराम् वहिक् आत्माराम्
२०. चोणाल् सुनाच्या वूढा लेखक साहि रवि उ-
२१. पाध्या श्रीशाके १७०१ श्रीसंवत्सरः १८३६
२२. फाल्गुन शुदी १४ रोज ७ मुकाम राजधानी
२३. वेणी शुभम् भूयात् शुभम् भवतु

१२४ सि एन ए एस जनल, मोल ८, नं. २ (जुन १९८१)

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मुस्ताडो जिलाको माफा गाउँका मुख्यहरूद्वारा संग्रह भएका दुई ताम्रपत्राभिलेखमध्ये एउटामा यो अभिलेख कुँदिएको छ । यहाँ शक संवत् १७०२ (वि.सं. १८३७) दिइएको छ ।

श्रीरामो जयति

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधि-
२. राज किर्तिवम्ब मल्ल देवज्यूले
३. पुरीमा अपुतालीमा कल पन्यो
४. रु.२००) सिक्का पाया राशि विंति
५. गन्या र अपुतालि माफ भयो सितौं ४८०
६. रोक पोक सदैको आफ्नो गरि ल्याउन्या
७. उसै गरि ल्याउनु ६०) रूपैयाँ सिक्का
८. दसैमा ल्याउनु उप्रात उपतामाको
९. धिति रिति देशालिले पम्बवाट
१०. गौराह ञानु विसको तिं ३ वूढाले
११. राजावाट ञानु विसको ३ यस
१२. वातका शादि काजी गरूढघोज
१३. मल्ल सिम्पुनारायण मल्ल वलिब-
१४. धन मल्ल ञालाका ठाकुर इन्द्रघो-
१५. ज मल्ल देशालि नाग मल्ल तुला-
१६. राम वहीक श्रीशाके १७०२ लि-
१७. णित श्रीकृष्ण जोसि मिति फाल्गु-
१८. ण शुदि १० रोज १ मुकाम पार्थि
१९. शुभ शुभ.

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श्रीरामो जयति

१. स्वस्ति श्री ५ मन्महाराजाधि-
२. राज कीर्तिवम मल्ल देवज्यूले
३. धपुतानिले १०० रूपया सिक्का पा-
४. या राणि सेवा ग-या र ह्याढाढोहमदे-
५. णि उधो मल्लुदेणि उधो ओणढाढा-
६. देणि उधो थला डाढादेणि उधो अमेध-
७. ढोदेणि उधो साध गरीवक्सनुमयो.ए-
८. समहां लगरा फगरा नास्ति. एस् वात-
९. का सादगि काजी गरुड ध्वज मल्ल. शंभुना-
१०. रायणा मल्ल. वलिवधम मल्ल. णोलाका
११. ठाकुर कलिमर्दन मल्ल. दिशाली. प्रति-
१२. विद. हस्तधर. आत्माराम चोणाल. मु-
१३. किराम वहीक. बुद्धि प्रकाश कपदारी. शु-
१४. क्लावर. गंगा प्रसाद णजंती श्रीशाके
१५. १७०२ संवत् १८३७ लिखित धरणी-
१६. धर पंडित शुभम् मूयात्

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पर्वत जिल्लाको कुश्मा बजार निवासी श्रीमोती कुमार जोशीसँग रहेको ताम्रपत्रमा यो अभिलेख कुँदिएको छ । यहाँ विक्रम संवत् १८३८ दिइएको छ ।

श्रीरामो जयति

१. स्वस्ति श्री श्री श्री श्री श्रीमन्महाराजाधि-
२. राज श्रीकीर्तिर्वम मल्ल देवेन
३. महेश्वर नेवारले १०१ रूपैयाँ अक्षरेपि स-
४. य रूपैयाँले सेवा ग-या र निकासि माफ् गर्नु
५. मयो घर घडेरी पनि वेच्या विकून्या वस्या था-
६. भिन्या गरिवक्सनुमयो यस् वातका साक्षि का-
७. जी गरुडध्वज मल्ल शंभुनारायण मल्ल. ज्येठा
८. बूढा वलीवदन मल्ल सदाँर दमन मल्ल श्रीकु-
९. स्न का किं वलवीर दानी रणयोद्ध. कपदारि म-
१०. दन वक्सु चोपदार. सुरत. जिउदास् राजाराम्
११. प्रीतिराम् कलिया जुठु षात्रि प्रताप षात्री षाज-
१२. ति शुक्लावर. गंगा प्रसाद फुलाँका रुद्र वानी-
१३. आ. विचारी वृहस्पति लेखक साक्षि रवी उपा-
१४. घ्या श्रीशाके १७०३ श्रीसंवत्सर १८३८ फा-
१५. ल्गुन शुदी ६ रोज २ मुकाम कुश्माचार शु-
१६. मम् मूयात्

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श्रीरामो जयति

१. स्वस्ति श्री ५ मन्महाराजाधि-
२. राजस्येयं आज्ञा पत्री शुभं
३. टिट्यालको र चंद्रको वनमा कुल
४. पन्यो र २४०) रूपेणा अदारेपि
५. सिक्का पाया रासि दृध्यामदे-
६. णि उढो छिनारादेणि उढो रायि-
७. प्रादेणि उढो ढेजेमदेणि उमो रसि-
८. देणि उमो ध्येदेन्देणि उमो सा-
९. गवारिदेणि उधो : उमेधेदे-
१०. णि उधो : यति साधु पाको ग-
११. रिक्कसनुभयो विद्वाया पनि
१२. वेच्या पनि टीट्यालको णुसि ण-
१३. गर. माटो पुष्पाको थिति गरि ल्याउ-
१४. नु. वणाको सागु नलाउनु. एस्
१५. वातका सादिा काजी गरुड ध्वज मल्ल
१६. सम्मुनारायण मल्ल. कलिमर्दन
१७. मल्ल. णोलाका ठाकुर. कपदार. म
१८. दन वक्स्. णजाचि. सुक्लावर. गंगा-
१९. प्रसाद. चोपदार. सुरत्. देसालि
२०. सक्ति मल्ल. आत्माराम चोणाल
२१. क्वापदार हित्या वहिक. श्रीशा-
२२. के १७०४ लिखित शाहि रवि उ-
२३. पाध्या मीति फाल्गुण शुदि ३
२४. रोज ४ मुकाम वेनि शुभ.

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रूपन्देही जिल्लाको मोतीपुर गाउँ पञ्चायत वडा संख्या २, मनोहरापुर निवासी श्रीअमर देव मल्लसँग रहेको ताम्रपत्रमा यो अभिलेख कुँदिएको छ । यहाँ शक संवत् १७०५ (वि.सं. १८४०) दिइएको छ ।

श्रीरामो जयति नम

१. स्वस्ति श्री ५ मन्महाराजाधिराज-
२. स्येय आज्ञापत्री वरीवर्ति शुभ
३. स्वस्ति श्री श्रीअवधूतसिंहको उपल्लाचौरको घ-
४. -याहि वितार् गरिदिआ निकासि माफ गरिदिआ का-
५. जी गरूढध्वज मल्ल, शंभुनारायण मल्ल रिपुख (म)-
६. ण्ठन मल्ल, चोपदार, सूरत, सध्याराम, श्यामभक्त
७. प्रीतिराम, षाजाची, शुक्लावर, गंगाप्रसाद, कृष्ण-
८. दार प्रतिविंव, सूवेदार हस्तधर, मंडा-
९. -या जगत् राम, प्रधान महेश्वर, कार्कि कोट्या उमरा ग-
१०. गाराम्, माफकोट्या उमरा, वीरमद्र थापा, सिजा
११. द्वा-या दिलाराम, कार्कि बुधे मल्ल, काशिराम
१२. राजाराम, श्रीशाके १७०५ पौषा दीन गते ३ रोज
१३. १ नदात्र मघा पौषा वदी ६ लेखक साक्षा रू-
१४. कर्मागदेन, शुभम् भूयात्

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श्रीरामः

१. स्वस्ति श्री ५ मन्महाराजाधिरा-
२. जा कीर्तिवम्व मल्ल देवज्यूले
३. प्रतानिहल्ले स्योकाको वन् ६०) रूपभा पा-
४. या राणि विंति गन्या हस्तम णोलादेणि पु-
५. ढोत्थादेनदेणि उघो अध्यारी णोलादेणि
६. बुढो मीउफट्टकादेणि उघो. स्योकाभि-
७. त्रको वाम्को विद्वाया पनि वेच्या पनि प्रता-
८. निको षुसि धोजोको चिस्तम् पनि प्रतानिको
९. माकोध्योभ्रामा माटो णन्न पनि दिनु. धांप्री-
१०. मा पनि माटो णन्न दिनु यो वनमा लगरा फगरा
११. नास्ति अरु टोला उद्या पनि प्रतानिलाह णोसि
१२. अस्लाह नदिनु सागुको मित्र लाउनु भनि
१३. गरिवक्सनुमयो यस् वातका साद्वी णोलाका
१४. ठाकुचाम्पु मल्ल. प्रतिविद ह्याप्दारीदिशालि
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चांगुको-नेपाल मूर्तिकला

मोहनप्रसाद सनाल^१

कला राष्ट्रिय गौरवको त्यो अभिव्यक्ति हो, जसले तात्कालिक समाजको चारित्रिक पदामा प्रकाश मात्र पारेको नभै झल्किन्छाएको हुन्छ । अफ स्पष्टसंग भन्ने हो भने कलाले राष्ट्रिय जीवन-चरित्रको धरातललाई सुलमसुला तवरमा प्रस्तुत गरी दिइएको हुन्छ र झरिएर वसेका समाजका चारित्रिक गुण, दोष आदिलाई समष्टि रूपमा एकत्रित गरी औल्याएको हुन्छ । तात्कालिक समाजको जीवन-पद्धति, जनभावना, मनोबल र धार्मिक एवं आर्थिक अवस्थालाई ऐनाले जस्तै झल्किन्छ पार्ने काम पनि कलाले नै गर्दछ । त्यसैले कला तात्कालिक समाजको बहुपक्षीय, व्यापक तर सूक्ष्म सिर्जनात्मक अभिव्यक्ति हो ।

देश, काल र परिस्थितिको स्पष्ट ह्याप कलामा परेको हुन्छ । शासन व्यवस्थाको उदार एवं संकिण्ठिताको परिधिभित्र वसेर कलाकारले आफ्नु बुद्धि, विवेक र सीपको उपयोग कलामा यसरी गरेको हुन्छ कि त्यसको प्रत्यक्ष वा परोक्ष प्रभाव कलामा प्रतिबिम्बित भएको पाइन्छ । सुयोग्य शासकको शासन कालमा राष्ट्रिय चरित्रको धरातल जति उच्च र व्यापक हुँदै गएको पाइन्छ, त्यति नै कलाकारले कलालाई चरम सीमामा पु-याएको पनि हुन्छ । प्रतिभावन् कलाकारका हृदयबाट प्रस्फुटित चिन्तनद्वारा सिर्जिएको कलामा सधैं चोखो, ताजा र नयाँ अभिव्यक्तिका लहरहरू देखा पर्दछन् । त्यति मात्र हैन उसले समय, स्थान, जाति, तथा भाषालाई जितेको हुन्छ र कठोर साधनाद्वारा अमूर्तको मूर्त रूपमा परिणत गरी दिन्छ । आध्यात्मिक भावनामा निलीप्त भएर उसले मानसचक्रद्वारा आफ्नो उपास्य देवताको स्पष्ट स्वरूपलाई साक्षात्कार गरी उत्तारी दिन्छ र भक्तका मुटुमा च्वास्स हुँदै सन्तप्तलाई चिर शान्तिको दृढ साधन प्रदान गर्दछ ।

नेपाली मूर्ति विज्ञानको क्षेत्र अन्तर्गत व्यापक र विशाल छ । यसमा पाइने मौलिकता, शैली र भावनात्मक व्यक्तित्वको जुन गति र प्रवाह छ त्यसको मर्मसम्म पुगेर व्याख्या गर्न अहिलेलाई संभव हैन । तर समष्टिरूपमा भएपनि राष्ट्रिय चरित्रको यस महान् परंपरालाई परिचयात्मक रूपले सरल ढंगबाट प्रस्तुत गर्ने प्रयाससम्म गरिएको छ । नेपालको इतिहासमा जस्तै नेपाली मूर्तिकलामा पनि तीन महान् युगहरू देखा परेका छन् । प्रागैतिहासिक काललाई काठेर इशाको प्रारम्भिक शताब्दीदेखि आठौँ शताब्दीसम्मको काललाई प्राचीन काल मानिएकोले आठौँ शताब्दीसम्मको काललाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने कला कृतिहरूलाई प्राचीन र त्यस पछिका काललाई क्रमशः मध्य र आधुनिक काल मानिएकोले सोही अनुसार काल विभाजन गरी नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको मूल्यांकन गर्ने प्रयास गरिएको छ ।

१. श्री मोहनप्रसाद सनाल - नेपाल र एसियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्रका उप-प्राध्यापक हुनु हुन्छ ।

नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको सहि मूल्यांकन गर्ने स्पष्ट आधारहरू हुन् तिथि मिति अंकित अभिलेखयुक्त मूर्तिहरू। काल अंकित यस्ता प्रामाणिक मूर्तिकलाका आधारमा अन्य मूर्तिहरूको तुलनात्मक अध्ययन र विश्लेषण हुनुपर्दछ । यसपछि मात्र एउटा अर्को महत्वपूर्ण पदालाई दृष्टि दिनु अनिवार्य हुन्छ । त्यो हो नेपाली कलाको आफ्नै शैली, स्तर, परंपरा र मां लिकता । किनकि नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको वास्तविक मूल्यांकन गर्दा हामीले देश, काल, परिस्थिति र परंपरालाई वढी ध्यान दिनु पर्ने हुन्छ । समयको शास्वत प्रवाहमा प्रवाहित सुख दुःख र उथल पुथलका परिणामलाई व्यक्त गर्दै यसले सास प्रकारको विशेषता राखेको छ । तर पनि हिमेलीसंगको परंपरागत संपर्कबाट प्रभावित शैली र शास्त्रीय पद्दाको विवेचना गर्दा समयको गतिको साथ साथै नेपाली मूर्तिकलामा क्रमशः आउँदै जाँदै गरेका परिवर्तनहरू दृष्टिगोचर हुन्छन् । यिनै परिवर्तित रूप र शैलीका आधारमा नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको अध्ययन, अनुसन्धान र मूल्यांकन गरिनु पर्दछ ।

नेपाली इतिहासका सम्पूर्ण युगमा धर्मको नै प्रधानता रह्यो । त्यसैले नेपाली मूर्ति विज्ञानको आधारस्तंभ यहाँको धर्म, संस्कृति र परंपरागत शैलीमा अडेको छ । त्यसकारण मूर्ति-विज्ञानको विश्लेषणको साथसाथै आगम वा निगमको शास्त्रीय पद्दाको विवेचना गर्नु आवश्यक मात्र हैन अनिवार्यै भएको छ ।

नेपाली मूर्ति कलाको प्रमुख साधन माटो, काठ, प्रस्तर र धातु नै रहेको छ । तर शुरू शुरूमा नेपाली मूर्ति कलाको सर्व प्रिय माध्यम माटो नै रहेको थियो तापनि छिटो नाश हुने यसको स्वभावले गर्दा मृत्तिका कलाको ठाउँ शनैः शनैः प्रस्तर कलाले लियो । प्रस्तर कला नेपाली मूर्ति विज्ञानको दोत्रमग अत्यन्त उपयोगी र लोकप्रिय माध्यम बन्यो । प्रस्तर कला पछि लगत्तै, सर्वप्रिय माध्यमको रूपमा धातुले प्रवेश ग-यो । नेपाली प्रतिमा-विज्ञानको दोत्रमा धातु कलाले नेपाललाई मात्र हैन विश्वलाई नै मुग्ध तुल्याएको छ । मूर्ति कलाको अर्को प्रमुख माध्यम हो काठ । काष्ठ-कला अवस्था अनुसार सधै नै लोकप्रिय रह्यो । तर यो नासावान भएकोले यसको प्राचीन स्वरूपबारे हामीलाई प्रत्यक्षा ज्ञान हुन सकेको हैन । परन्तु प्राचीनकालदेखि नै नेपाली कला र वास्तु कलामा काठको प्रमुख भूमिका रहेको थियो भन्ने अनेक प्रमाणहरू चाहिँ उपलब्ध छन् ।

ऐतिहासिक पष्ठभूमिमा नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको

सर्वेक्षा र मूल्यांकन

नेपालको इतिहासको राजनैतिक सिलसिला गोपाल-कालदेखि शुरू हुन्छ । नेपालको नामकरण र पशुपतिको उत्पत्तिको कथा पनि यिनै गोपालहरूसँग गाँसिएको छ । वंशावली-कारहरूले गोपालहरूलाई शैव वा पाशुपत^१ (लिंगपूजक) मानेका छन् । शैव वा पाशुपत धर्म भारतमा आयैहरूको आगमनमन्दा पुरानो हो भन्ने विद्वान्हरूको मत छ । सो कुराको पुष्टि

सिन्धु उपत्यकामा प्राप्त पुरातात्विक सामग्री^२ र वैदिक संहिताका अनेक कृचाहरूले गरेका छन् ।

गोपालपक्षि नेपालमा किरातहरूको शासन चलयो । यी किरातहरू पनि शैव नै थिए । शैव वा आर्येतर जातिलाई वैदिक संहितामा "शिशनदेव, अनृतदेव, मुरदेव"^३ आदि मानिएको छ । जसरी भारतमा आर्यहरूको आगमनमन्दा पहिले शैव धर्म (लिंगपूजा) को प्राधान्यता थियो त्यसरी नै नेपालमा लिच्छविहरूको प्रवेश हुनुमन्दा पूर्व शैव वा पाशुपत धर्मको व्यापकता थियो भन्न सकिन्छ ।

दुर्भाग्यवस नेपालमा अद्यापि किरातहरूको भौतिक अवशेष प्राप्त हुन सकेको छैन । यसको मुख्य तथा स्पष्ट कारण हो यहाँ वैज्ञानिक तरिकाले व्यापक रूपमा पुरातात्विक स्थलहरूको खोज र उत्खनन हुन नसक्नु । पुरातात्विक खोजविना नेपालको इतिहास, कला र संस्कृतिका प्रायः सबै पक्षहरू अधूरा रहन गएका छन् । हामीकहाँ केवल धार्मिक स्थानहरूमा स्थापित मूर्तिहरूको मूल्यांकन गरेर मात्र शन्तोष लिने पद्धति छ भने अर्को वैज्ञानिक ढंगको उत्खननबाट प्राप्त पुरावशेषको संगै, अधिराज्यव्यापी खोज गरी संकलित सामग्रीका आधारमा नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको प्रामाणिक र क्रमवद्ध इतिहास लेख्नु जरूरी भएको छ ।

लगभग इशाको प्रारम्भिक शताब्दीको शुरुताका किरातहरूलाई जित्ने नेपाल उपत्यकामा लिच्छविहरूले शासन गरेथे । परंपरागत रूपमा लिच्छविहरू सुसंस्कृत र कला प्रेमी भएका हुँदा यिनीहरूको कृत्रिमतामा करीव यसै वेलादेखि नेपाली कलाले आफ्नो निर्दिष्ट दिशा बोध गर्न थालेथ्यो । यसको फलस्वरूप इशाको पहिलो शताब्दीताका निर्मित नेपाली मूर्तिकलाका केही नमूनाहरू पाइएका छन् । तर यस ग्रन्थको विषयवस्तु चाँगुनारायण-स्थानमा प्राप्त मूर्तिकलामा मात्र सीमित भएकोले अन्यत्र प्राप्त सामग्रीको यहाँ उल्लेख गरिएको छैन । माथि चर्चा गरिए फौ नेपाली मूर्ति-कलामा पाइने आफ्नै पन र शैलीका आधारमा छुट्याउन सकिने प्राचीनकाल (इशाको दोश्रो शताब्दीदेखि आठौँ शताब्दीसम्म) का प्राप्त अप्रकाशित मूर्तिहरूलाई मात्र छाटो परिचयसाथ यहाँ प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

चाँगुनारायण मन्दिरको भण्डार भित्र देवीको सडटा मुष्मय मूर्ति (चित्र नं. १) रहेको छ । यसमा प्रयुक्त पोशाक, शारीरिक वनोट र शैलीका आधारमा यस मूर्तिलाई इशाको दोश्रो शताब्दीको मान्न सकिन्छ । शिरको मुकुट, कान र हातमा प्रयोग भएका भारी आभूषण तथा मुखमुद्राका आधारमा देवीको यो मूर्तिमा कुषाणकालीन कलाको स्पष्ट फलक देखिन्छ । परन्तु चाँगुका नारायणमूर्तिको प्रतिष्ठा गर्ने राजा वा भक्तको नाम र कालभन्ने ज्ञात हुन सकेको छैन । तर पनि चाँगुनारायणको पहिलो मन्दिरको निर्माण गर्ने श्रेय पूर्व लिच्छविकालीन राजा हरिदत्त वमालाई छ । यिनले चाँगुनारायण लगायत चारै नारायणका मन्दिरको निर्माण गराएथे^४ । वास्तु निर्माणकालमा प्रतिमा स्थापनाको परंपरा नेपालमा प्राचीनकाल देखिनै रहेको थियो । टुडाल र तोरणमा कुंदिएका सुन्दर देव

प्रतिमा र परिक्रमा क्रमसंग देखिने गण वा पशु पंथीका आकृतिहरू राख्ने विधानको स्थापत्य शास्त्रमा निर्देशन गरिएको छ^५। तर राजा हरिदत्त वमालाई संफाउने कलाकृतिका अवशेषहरू चाँगुमा प्राप्त हुन सकेका छैनन् । त्यसैले राजा हरिदत्त वमालाई स्थापित वास्तु वा प्रतिमावारे केही बोल्न सक्ने स्थिति अखिलेलाई छैन ।

यसै प्रसंगमा चाँगुस्थित छिन्नमस्ताको मन्दिरभित्र मातृकाका चारवटा प्रस्तर मूर्तिहरू प्राप्त भएका छन् । उपत्यकाका अन्य ठाउँमा पाइएका सप्त मातृकाका प्राचीन मूर्तिहरूको जस्तै यिनीहरूको पनि विशेष महत्त्व छ ।

छिन्नमस्ता मन्दिरभित्र प्राप्त यि चार मूर्तिहरूमा प्रयुक्त पोशाक, शारीरिक वनोट, शैली र मुखमुद्राका आधारमा यि मूर्तिहरूलाई दशैको दोश्रो शताब्दीको मान्न सकिन्छ । यी चार प्रस्तर मूर्तिहरूमध्ये सग्लो र स्पष्ट मूर्तिका रूपमा ब्रसायणी (चित्र नं.२) को यस मूर्तिलाई लिन सकिन्छ । प्रलम्ब पादासनमा अवस्थित यो मूर्तिको तुलना पाटन गाँवहालको बहुवर्चि मातृका र भारतमा पाइने मथुरा शैलीका कतिपय कुष्माण्ठाकालीन देवी मूर्तिहरूसँग गर्न सकिन्छ । चेष्टो र पुष्ट मुखाकृति, कानफोलेले गरी लगाइएका ठूला तथा गोला कुण्डल, घाँटीमा दानादार एकसरी माला र बुट्टेदार तर मुञ्जापारि तल खुट्टासम्म लत्रिनेगरी बनाइएको अर्धोः वस्त्र यस मूर्तिका चाखलग्दा पदा हुन् दुवै घुडामाथि अड्याइएका हातमध्ये दाहिने हातमा माला र देब्रे हातमा कमण्डलु देखिन्छ ।

ब्रसायणीको मूर्ति जस्तै सग्लो र सुन्दर मूर्तिको रूपमा महिषमर्दिनी दुर्गा (चित्र नं ३) को यो मूर्ति देखापरेको छ । यहाँ प्राप्त अरू तीन मूर्तिहरू भन्दा यो मूर्ति अलि परिमार्जित जस्तो देखिन्छ । तर केश विन्यास, कान, हातमा प्रयोग भएका भारी आभूषण र मुखमुद्राका आधारमा यसलाई पनि अन्य तीन मूर्तिकै समकक्षमा राख्न पर्ने हुन्छ ।

यस मूर्तिका चारहात छन् । दायाँ तर्फको अधिल्लो हातको आयुधलाई प्रष्टरूपमा औल्याउन नसकिएतापनि पछिल्लो हातमा लिएको त्रिशूलले महिषालाई ताडनागरेको छ । बायाँतर्फको अधिल्लो हातले महिषाको पूच्छरलाई दरोसँग समातेको छ भने पछिल्लो हातले पासलिएको देखिन्छ । तर मूर्ति अगाडि तेर्सिएको खुट्टा ठूलो ढुङ्गाले ढ्याप्पै छेकिएको हुँदा यसवारे अखिलेलाई यतिमात्र भन्न सकिएको छ ।

ब्रसायणी र महिषमर्दिनी दुर्गाको मूर्तिपछि वाराही (चित्र नं.४) को यो मूर्ति देखा पर्दछ । समयको विनाशकारी प्रभावबाट प्रभावित यस मूर्तिका दुइहात छन् र दुवैहात घुडामाथि अडेका छन् । तर यस मूर्तिका हातमा भएका वस्तुहरूको अखिलेलाई पहिचान गर्न सकिने अवस्था छैन ।

यस पछिको मूर्ति (चित्र नं. ५) कौमारीको हो कि भन्ने देखिन्छ । वाराहीको जस्तै यो मूर्ति पनि खिहरज्यादै नै नष्ट भएको छ । तर प्रलम्ब पादासनमा स्थित यस मूर्तिका खुट्टामा ब्रसायणीका जस्तै ठूला र मोटा मोटा कल्लिहरू देखिएका छन् । परन्तु हातमा

लिहएका वस्तुहरू चिन्न सकिने स्थितिमा त हेनन् तर दाहिनेतर्फ शक्तिको प्रदर्शन भए जस्तो देखिन्छ । त्यसैले यस मूर्तिलाई कामारीको हो कि भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

शारीरिक स्थिति, शैली, वनोट र मुखमुद्राका आधारमा चांगुमा प्राप्त यी चार मूर्तिहरूको आफ्नै विशेषता छ र यी मूर्तिहरू नेपालका अन्य ठाउँमा प्राप्त प्रारम्भिक कालका मूर्तिहरूसँग महत्वपूर्ण छन् ।

चांगुको हिन्दमस्ता मन्दिरभित्र उमा-महेश्वरको एउटा अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण प्रस्तर मूर्ति (चित्र नं. ६) फेला परेको छ । शैली, वनोट र स्थितिका आधारमा यस मूर्तिलाई ईशाको तेश्रो शताब्दीको मान्न सकिन्छ र मथुरा शैलीका कुषाणकालीन कतिपय मूर्तिहरूसँग यसको तुलना गर्न सकिन्छ ।

शिव देव्रेसुटा तलतिर फुण्ड्याई दाहिने सुटा आसनमा राखि ऊर्ध्वरत मुद्रामा बसेका छन् । शिवसँग देव्रेपटि एउटै आसनमा उमा दुवै सुटा तलतिर फुण्ड्याई अलि कर्कश जिव्जिवरी मुखचाहि शिवतर्फ फर्काए जस्तो गरी बसेकी छन् । यहाँ शिवका दुई हात छन् र दाहिने हात आफ्नै दायाँ कासमा राखी देव्रे हातचाहि बायाँ तिघ्रामा अड्याइ बसेका छन् । मूर्ति ज्यादै नराम्रोसँग लिहएको हुँदा शिवका हातका वस्तुहरूको राम्रो पहिचान गर्न सकिएको छैन ।

शिरको जटाजुट, कानका कुण्डल र गलामा लगाइएको एकसरो माला स्पष्ट देखिएका छन् । शिवको पङ्क्तिर टाउकोमात्र देखाई बसेको अवस्थाको नन्दी देखिन्छ । तर यहाँ कुमारको उपस्थिति देखिँदैन र देव्रेतर्फ बसेकी उमाको केश विन्यास, कुण्डल, पटुका, सेल-रोटी जस्ता गोला र मोटा मोटा कल्लिहरू भने राम्रसँग देख्न सकिन्छ । शिव र उमाका शिरको पुष्ट भागमा रहेको गोलो तथा विलकुलै सादा प्रभामण्डलले यस मूर्तिको प्राचीनतालाई अफ व्यापक रूपमा प्रष्ट्याएको छ ।

चांगुनारायण मन्दिरको मण्डारमा प्राप्त धातुका प्रतिमाहरू मध्येमा यो चतुर्बाहु विष्णुको प्रतिमा (चित्र नं. ७) प्रत्येक दृष्टिले ज्यादै महत्वको छ । यसमा देखिने शारीरिक तरङ्ग, आंगिक विशिष्टता र शैलीका आधारमा यस प्रतिमालाई ईशाको चारौँ शताब्दीको मान्न सकिन्छ । पुष्ट र गोलो अनुहार, उच्च ललाट, शंखाकार आँखा, सलक्क परेको नाक, चौडा छाती, वाटुलो कम्मर र अनुपात मिलेको शरीर भएको यस प्रतिमाले नेपाल उपत्यकामा बहिलेसम्म पाइएका धातु-कलाको सर्वमन्दा जेठो उदाहरणको जानकारी दिन्छ । भारतमा पाइने कुषाण कालीन मथुरा शैलीका विष्णु मूर्तिमा प्रयुक्त करण्डक मुकुट, विलकुलै सादा तर वाटुलो प्रभामण्डल र कुमदेखिने अलग्ग देखिने गरी बनाइएका हातहरूलाई हेर्दा कताकता यस प्रतिमामा पनि यस किसिमको कुषाणकालीन पद्धतिको फफल्को पाइन्छ । त्यसैले यस मूर्तिलाई लखनऊ म्यूजियमको संग्रहमा भएको चारौँ शताब्दीको विष्णु-मूर्तिसँग पनि तुलना गर्न सकिन्छ ।

इशाको पाँचौं शताब्दीकै अर्को एक महत्वपूर्ण गणका मूर्ति (चित्र नं. ८) हालै प्राप्त भएको छ । यो मूर्ति चाँगुनारायण मन्दिरको पूर्वपटि पोखरीमा फेला परेको हो । वलौटे ढुंगाको यस गणको मूर्तिमा आफ्नै प्रकारको खास विशेषता छ । चेप्टो अनुहार, धुयुरिएर मुद्रा परेको कपाल, चौडा छाती, गठिलो बाहु, केराका थाम जस्ता तिघ्रा यस मूर्तिको विशेषता हुन् । दाहिने घुँडा मारी देब्रे घुँडामा देब्रे हातले टेकी शंखध्वनि गर्न लागेको यस मूर्तिमा ओज र पूर्ण व्यक्तित्व देखिन्छ । हुनत इशाको पाँचौं शताब्दीदेखि नेपाली इतिहास, कला र संस्कृतिका प्रायः सबै पढाहरू पूर्ण र स्पष्ट देखिन थाल्दछन् । राजाहरिदत्त वमापिछि चाँगुनारायणका सम्बन्धमा स्पष्ट र प्रामाणिक ढंगबाट राजा मानदेव देखा परेका छन् । ई.सं. ४६४ मन्दा केही कालअघिदेखि ई.सं. ५०५ सम्म मानदेवले नेपालमा शासन गरेथे । एक्कासी सम्पन्नताको चरमसीमामा पुगेको देखिने यस युगको प्रस्तर कला, धातु कला र वास्तुकलाले हामीलाई रोचक र मुग्ध तुल्याएका छन् ।

नेपालमा सबै प्रथम आफ्नो नामाङ्कित टक प्रचलनमा ल्याउने राजा मानदेव नै थिए । तामाको उक्त टकको अग्रभागमा सिंह र पृष्ठ भागमा कमलमा आसनस्थ देवीको मूर्तिले नेपालमा धातुकलाको प्राचीनतालाई प्रामाणिक रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिदिएको छ । चाँगुको गरुड र गरुडस्तंभ, चाँगुकै विश्वरूप^७ तथा फलान्चोक भगवती, तिलगंगा र लाजिम्पाटका विष्णु विक्रान्तका मूर्तिहरूले पाँचौं शताब्दीका प्रस्तर कलाको अद्वितीय उदाहरण प्रस्तुत गरिदिएका छन् ।

लिच्छाविकालका प्रशासनिक शिलापत्रमा उल्लेखित मानगृह नामाङ्कित राजा प्रासाद पनि नेपाली वास्तुकलाको अनुपम नमूना मान्नु पर्दछ । तर दुर्भाग्यवश मानगृहको शैली र सुन्दरतावारे कुनै सादा प्रमाण आज उपलब्ध छैनन् ।

यसै प्रसंगमा पाँचौं शताब्दी कै आर्को एउटा चाँगुमा प्राप्त देवीको (चित्र नं. ९) धातु प्रतिमालाई महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि मान्नु पर्दछ । राम्रोसँग सूक्ष्म दृष्टिले नियालेर हेरेको खण्डमा यस प्रतिमाको चेहरा मुकुट, कुण्डल, वाला, बाजु, हार तथा देब्रे हातले लिएको कमल र भेसभूषाबाट यो प्रतिमा लाजिम्पाटमा प्राप्त विष्णुविक्रान्तको प्रस्तर नारी मूर्तिसँग औंघिने मिल्दछ । लाम्चो आँखा, थप्चो नाक, चेप्टो अनुहार, सानो कम्बर गोला र पोटीला स्तन, हात्तीका सूँड जस्ता तिघ्राले यो प्रतिमा सारै आकर्षक देखिन्छ । विष्णु विक्रान्त मूर्तिको फलकमा देखिने नारी मूर्तिको सुटामा भएको पाउजेव यो प्रतिमामा पाइदैन । तर यस प्रतिमामा पाइने प्राचीन शैलीको कण्ठहार, कुण्डल र मोटो वाला भने उक्त फलकमा भएको नारी मूर्तिसँग ठ्याम्मै मिल्दछ । नेपालमा धातु मूर्तिको परंपरा कति पुरानो हो भन्ने एउटा महत्वपूर्ण उदाहरणको लागि चाँगुनारायणको सुवर्ण प्रतिमालाई पनि लिन सकिन्छ । चाँगुको उक्त मूर्ति मानदेव मन्दा अघिको हो भन्ने प्रमाण त चाँगुको स्तंभ लेखमा वणिगति वाक्यले स्पष्ट गरेको छ । अफ तयसमन्दा वलियो र दरो

प्रमाण त चाँगुनारायणको पाद पीठमा भएको सुवर्ण पत्र नै हो । त्यस सुवर्ण पत्रमा पहिलेको नारायणको कवचर गरूड काल क्रमले जीर्ण भएको देखेर राजा अंशुमालि पुरानो नमूना वमोजिम जिर्णोद्धार गरे को वणि छ । यसबाट नेपालमा धातु प्रतिमाको प्राचीनता-लाई हामीले हेशाको दोश्रो शताब्दीसम्म लान सकिने आधार मान्नु पर्दछ ।

मानदेवको शासन कालदेखि विकसित हुँदै आएको नेपाली कला र वास्तु कला अंशुवर्मा-को समयमा चरम अवस्थामा पुगेको थियो । अंशुवर्माकालीन कलाको ज्वलन्त उदाहरणको रूपमा चाँगुको गरूड नारायणको सुवर्ण प्रतिमालाई लिन सकिन्छ । तिथि मिति अंकित यस सुवर्ण प्रतिमाले नेपाली कला-जगतलाई ठूलो गुन लगाएको छ । यस मूर्तिमा पाइने सबै मन्दा महत्त्वपूर्ण र चाखलाग्दो पदा हो शिरको पृष्ठभागमा रहेको ज्वालावली सहितको प्रमामण्डल शिर अलग्याइएको यस प्रतिमामा देखिने ज्वालासहितको प्रमामण्डल (चित्र नं. १०) ले एउटा ठूलो समस्यामूलक विवादलाई अन्त्य गरिदिएको छ । केही नेपाली तथा विदेशी विद्वानहरूले ज्वालासहितको प्रमामण्डललाई आठौँ शताब्दी पश्चिमात्र प्रयोग हुन थालेको हो भनि सिद्धान्त चेष्टा गरेका छन् । तर यस विषयमा एकजना नेपाली विद्वानले ज्वालासहितको प्रमामण्डललाई छैठौँ शताब्दी देखिनै प्रयोग भएको चर्चा गर्नु भएको छ । यसरी विवादास्पद समस्यालाई प्रामाणिक रूपले टुड्गो लगाउने कामको साथसाथै अन्य कतिपय नयाँ कुराहरूको रहस्योदघाटन गर्ने काम पनि यस प्रतिमाबाट भएको छ । आकाशमा उडिरहेको मुद्रामा आफ्ना दुवै हातका साथ पखेटा पसारेका (वितत-पदा) गरूड माथि शंख, चक्र, गदा धारी भगवान् विष्णु विराजमान छन् । धुधुरिएको कपाल, ठूलो निधार, वाटुला आँखा, गोलो र पुष्ट अनुहार, सलक्क परेको नाक, गठिलो बाहु र चौडा क्वाती भएको गरूडको यो मूर्ति निकै आकर्षक देखिन्छ (चित्र नं. ११) । कानको कुण्डल, हातमा प्रयोग भएका मोटा वाला, बाजु र नागहारको स्पष्ट दर्शनले अभिलेख विनाका अरू मूर्तिहरूको मूल्यांकन गर्ने एउटो ठोस आधार प्राप्त भएको छ । मानवाकार यस गरूड मूर्तिको सुट्टा भन्ने चराका समान छन् ।

उडिरहेका गरूडको पृष्ठ भागमा विराजमान चतुर्बाहु विष्णुको यो मूर्ति अत्यन्त सुन्दर छ । शिरोभाग बाहेकको यो मूर्ति अंशुवर्माद्वारा पुनर्निर्माण गराइएको थियो । (वर्तमान कालको शिरोभाग मात्र पछि मल्लकालमा कान्तिपुरका राजा भूपालेन्द्र मल्लले फरेका थिए) ।

(दुर्भाग्यवश चाँगुनारायणका पुराना दुई शिरोभाग केही समय अगाडि चोरी भएको थियो । चोरी भएको केही दिनपछि अंशुवर्मा जिर्णोद्धार गरेर फरेका शिरोभाग मात्र केही नोक्सानको साथ प्राप्त भएकोले अंशुवर्माद्वारा स्थापित गरूड सहितको नारायणको मूर्ति वारे अध्ययन गर्ने सौभाग्य प्राप्त भएको छ)।

चंगुनारायण मन्दिरको मण्डार मित्र (मुसलिङ्ग) (चित्र नं. १२) को एउटा अत्यन्त लालित्य पूर्ण धातु-प्रतिमा प्राप्त भएको छ । ईशाको कैटी शताब्दीको शिवको यस प्रतिमा-मा अमृतपूर्व शान्ति र सौन्दर्य देख्ने सौभाग्य पाइन्छ । वषास्थलको आधा भागसम्म देखिने यस मूर्तिको दाहिने हात अक्षमालाको साथ अमय मुद्रामा र देब्रे हातमा पूर्ण घडा देखिन्छ । शिरमा कीर्तिमुख अंकीत अत्यन्त मव्य मुकुट छ । कानमा प्राचीन शैलीको कुण्डल र गलामा रुद्राक्षको बीच-बीचमा वेलपत्ता भएको माला छ । गोल र पुष्ट मुहारमा अनन्त शान्ति, ऐश्वर्य तथा अरुण आभाले प्रशान्त मुस्कानको अपूर्व भाव पोखिरहेको छ । गुलाफको कोपिला सामान आँखा, सुलुच परेको नाक, ठूलो र फराकिलो निधार, निधारको बीचमा तिलक लगाए जस्तो देखिने तेत्रो आँखा छ । प्रफुल्ल मुद्रामा जुन आत्मीय मुस्कानको प्रवाह र शान्ति देखिन्छ त्यस अलौकिक स्वरूपको प्रशंसा जति गरे पनि पुग्दैन । त्यसकारण यो प्रतिमालाई यस युगको महान देव मान्नु पर्दछ ।

यसै गरी चांगुनारायणको मण्डार मित्र वास्तुकलाका केही विशेष उल्लेखनीय नमूनाहरू (चित्र नं. १३ र १४) प्राप्त भएका छन् । ईशाको सातौँ शताब्दीको शुरुताका निमित्त यी अलंकार पूर्ण धातुका स्तम्भहरूले तात्कालिक वास्तुकलाको जानकारी प्रदान गरेका छन् ।

८७ $\frac{1}{2}$ x २२ $\frac{1}{2}$ से.मी. नापो भएको यस थामको माथिल्लो भाग मन्दा तल्लो भाग बढि कलापूर्ण देखिन्छ । यस थाममा पाइने सबैभन्दा आकर्षक र मनमोहक कलाकृतिहरूमा पुष्पाकृत कलश, नृत्य मुद्राकी अप्सरा र स्थूल शरीरका प्रसन्न मुद्रामा देखिने गण वा यक्ष हुन् ।

यस ललितपूर्ण र कलात्मक सुवर्णमय थामको साथमा पुष्पाकृत तोरणको एउटा भाग पनि फेला परेको छ । धातुको पातामा कुंदिएको सूक्ष्म फूल बुट्टाको मनमोहक कलाले दर्शकहरूलाई मन्त्र मुग्ध पार्ने जादू यसमा पाइन्छ ।

पशुपति वत्सलादेवीमन्दिरको प्राङ्गणमा रहेको प्रस्तरको खण्डित स्तम्भमा अंकित गण र यस धातुस्तम्भको गणमा कुनै फरक पाइदैन । पशुपतिको उक्त खण्डित प्रस्तर स्तम्भको गणलाई प्रतापादित्य पालले ईशाको सातौँ शताब्दीको मान्नु भएको छ^{१०} । यसबाट एउटा महत्वपूर्ण कुराको रहस्योद्घाटन भएको छ । त्यो हो लिच्छविकालदेखि नै नेपाली कलाकारहरूले प्रस्तर र धातुमा एकै प्रकारका कलाकृतिहरूलाई कुशलतापूर्वक उत्तारी कलापारखीहरूलाई विस्मित तुल्याई आफ्नो शिप र जागरको अमृतपूर्व परिचय दिएका छन् । यस उदाहरणबाट हामीलाई आर्को एउटा पाठ सिक्ने शयोग्य अवसर प्राप्त भएको छ । त्यो हो नेपाली प्रस्तर कला र धातुकलामा पाइने एकै प्रकारका शैली, मेष-मूष्ठा र आंगिक पदा । नेपाली कलाको यस विशेषतालाई कलापारखी विद्वानहरूले आजसम्म ध्यान दिए जस्तो मलाई लाग्दैन ।

प्राचीन कालदेखि नै लोकप्रिय रहेको उमा-महेश्वरको प्रतिमाले अवस्था अनुसार सधैं नै आफ्नो विशेषता कायम गरेको छ । उमा-महेश्वर वा उमासहित शिवका अन्य गण र परिवारको मूर्तिस्थापना गरी परंपरागत ढंगबाट पूजा अर्चना गर्ने पद्धति नेपालमा प्राचीनकाल-

देखि नै चलेको पाइन्छ । ईशाको सातौँ शताब्दीको उमा-महेश्वर (चित्र नं. १५) को ओज-पूर्ण प्रतिमा चाँगुमा फेला परेको छ । धातुको यस प्रतिमामा देखिने अलंकारको न्यूनतम प्रयोग र विशका गणहरूको सर्वथा अपावर्न यस प्रतिमाका विशेषता हुन् । यहाँ शिव फ्लेटी मारेर वसेका छन् र उमा दायाँ हात शिवको काखमा अड्याई सुखासनमा वसेकी छन् । शिवमा चार हात छन् । दायाँतर्फको पहिलो हातमा अडामाला र अघिल्लो हात फलसहित अमय मुद्रामा छ । बायाँतर्फको पहिलो हातमा सादा किसिमको त्रिशूल छ । अघिल्लो हातले उमाको देब्रे स्तनमा स्पर्श गरेको छ । शिव र पार्वतीको आसन छुट्टाछुट्टै छ र कैलासको कल्पनामा बनाइएको देखिन्छ । गोलो र पुष्ट अनुहार, फक्रेका कमलसमान खुला आँखा, चौडा छाती र अनुपात मिलेको शरीरमा यो प्रतिमा अत्यन्त लालित्यपूर्ण देखिन्छ । गलामा रुद्रादाको माला र जटाजुटले युक्त शिवको शिरपछिल्लिर सादा तर किञ्चित् लाम्चो देखिने वाटुलो प्रमामण्डल छ । शिवको दाहिनेतर्फ वसिरहेको अवस्थाको नन्दिको शिर र एउटा खुट्टा मात्र देखाइएको छ । उमाको स्थिति, मुकुटको शैली र आभूषणको न्यूनतम प्रयोग नै यस प्रतिमाका चाखलाग्दा पक्ष हुन् ।

माथि चर्चा गरिएका विशिष्टमूर्तिमध्येकै समकक्षमा राल्नुपर्ने आको एउटा धातुमूर्तिको उल्लेख गर्नु आवश्यक छ । ईशाको सातौँ शताब्दीको यस वामनमूर्ति (चित्र नं. १६) को उपलब्धिलाई औंघिर्न महत्त्वको मान्नु पर्दछ । गोलो र पुष्ट अनुहार, खुला कपाल, फराकिलो छाती, गठिलो बाहु, ठूलो पेट र छोटो खुट्टामा यो मूर्ति अत्यन्त आकर्षक देखिन्छ । मूर्तिका दुई हातमध्ये दाहिने हातमा कमलबीज र देब्रे हातले सानो घडा लिएको छ । जाडोमा पारदर्शी पीताम्बर धोती छ । शिरको पछाडि कलात्मक, किञ्चित् लाम्चो तर वाटुलो प्रमामण्डल छ । भारतको बम्बैस्थित एच.के. शालीको संग्रहमा भएको वामनको मूर्तिसँग द्याम्न मेल खाने यस मूर्तिमा पाइने ओजपूर्ण व्यक्तित्वको जति प्रशंसा गरे पनि पुग्दैन^{११} ।

यसै प्रसंगमा चाँगुकै प्रशिद्ध विष्णु विक्रान्तको प्रस्तर मूर्तिलाई लिन सकिन्छ । ईशाको सातौँ शताब्दीको यस मूर्तिमा कलाकारले पुराणमा वर्णित घटनालाई सजीव चित्रणद्वारा यसरी अभिव्यक्त गरी दिएको छ कि जसको मामिक पक्ष र भाव अभिव्यक्ति नै अतुलनीय छ । यस पक्षको क्रममा देखापरेको सातौँ शताब्दीकै चाँगुमा प्राप्त प्रस्तरको विष्णुमूर्ति (चित्र नं. १७) ले खास प्रकारको महत्त्व राख्दछ । नक्सालको लिच्छविअभिलेख युक्त (हाल राष्ट्रिय संग्रहालयमा रहेको) विष्णुमूर्तिको तुलनामा यो मूर्ति अझ अगाडिको प्रतीत हुन्छ । अझ यसमा देखिने प्रमामण्डल र विष्णुगुप्तद्वारा स्थापित (पशुपति पारिको राम र लव-कुश मनिने) विष्णुको^{१२} प्रमामण्डलमा कुनै अन्तर देखिँदैन । यसमा विष्णुको मुहारवाहेक अरु सबै अंगहरू सावुत छन् । तर दुर्भाग्यवस यस मूर्तिको अनुहारजति फुटेको छ । शरीरमा प्रयुक्त आभूषण, आयुध, शारीरिक गठनको साथै लक्ष्मी र गरुडको स्थिति अत्यन्त स्वाभाविक देखिन्छ ।

चांगुनारायणको मण्डारमित्र अर्को एउटा अत्यन्त लालित्यपूर्ण धातुको विष्णुमूर्ति (चित्र नं. १८) पाइएको छ । ईशाको सातौँ शताब्दीको यस विष्णुमूर्तिमा चित्रशैलीको आधारमा नेपाली धातुकलाको सर्वमन्दा उत्कृष्ट नमूना देख्ने सौभाग्य प्राप्त भएको छ । गोलो र पुष्ट अनुहार, उच्चललाट, आधा फुकेका आँखा, सुरिलो नाक, चौडा क्वाती एवं अनुपात मिलेको शरीरले यस मूर्तिलाई अत्यन्त सुन्दर बनाएको छ । शिरमा कीर्तिमुख अंकित मुकुट, कानमा कुण्डल, गलामा हार र हातमा मोटा वाला देखिन्छन् । यज्ञोपवीतको साथै कस्सिएको कम्बरबन्धको प्रयोग भएको छ । उत्तरीय र धोतीको व्यवहार भने प्राचीन शैलीको देखिन्छ । वृढानिलकण्ठको शेषशायीविष्णुमा पाइने शैली, आभूषण, आयुधहरू र आयुध धारण गरेको तरिका एवं अनुहार, शारीरिक तरङ्ग, तथा मुखमुद्राका आधारमा यी दुवै मूर्तिलाई समकालीन मान्न सकिन्छ । चित्र शैलीमा बनेको यस मूर्तिमा ओज र व्यक्तित्वको अविरल प्रवाहले दर्शकहरूलाई मुग्ध बनाएको छ ।

ई.शा. को सातौँ शताब्दीकै चांगुमा प्राप्त गणेशको (चित्र नं. १९) यस मूर्तिलाई अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण तथा अपूर्व उपलब्धि मान्नु पर्दछ । यो मूर्ति चांगुको दक्षिणपटि किन्न-मस्ताको मन्दिरमित्र कुनामा फेलापरेको हो । क्लैटे ढुङ्गामा कुँदिएको अमिलेसयुक्त गणेशको यस मूर्तिले नेपाली प्रतिमा-जगत्लाई ठूलो गुन लगाएको छ^{१३} ।

वस्त्र तथा आभूषण रहित यस मूर्तिको टाउको प्राकृतिक हात्तीको छ र मुकुट वा अन्य अलंकारहरू छैनन् । सुखासनमा आसनस्थ गणेशको देब्रेहातमा मोदकपात्र छ र दाहिने हातमा लड्डू वा फल लिएको देखिन्छ । एकदन्ता यस मूर्तिको सुँड देब्रेतर्फ धुमीमोदकपात्रमाथि अडेको छ ।

नेपाली मूर्तिविज्ञानमा विवादास्पद र समस्यामूलक देवप्रतिमाका रूपमा गणेशमूर्ति देखिएको छ । विघ्न-विनाशक, विघ्नहन्ता वा मांगल्यका एकमात्र दाता गणेशको, प्राचीन नेपालमा के कस्तो स्थान थियो, त्यसको कुनै निश्चित छैन । तर आज सिद्धि तथा मङ्गल दाताका रूपमा गणेशको अग्रमाग र पूजा सर्वत्र मान्य छ ।

पुराण र प्राचीन साहित्यहरूमा गणेशलाई शिवपुत्र भनिएको छ । त्यसैले उमा वा महेश्वरसँग गणेशको सामीप्य देखाइनु स्वाभाविक कुरा हो । तर उमामहेश्वरका गण सहितका मूर्तिहरूमा गणेशको स्थान गौणरूपमा देखाइएको छ । र कुमारको स्थान र स्थिति भने भव्य तथा ओजपूर्ण देखिन्छ । त्यसैले उमा-महेश्वरका मूर्तिहरूमा गणेशलाई शिवपरिवारमा नराखी शिवगणका लहरमा राखेको स्पष्ट देखिन्छ ।

लिच्छविकालमा गणेशको उल्लेख भएका शिलालेखहरू पाइएका छैनन् । त्यसैले नेपालमा गणेश मूर्तिको स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व वा पूजा कहिलेदेखि चल्यो यसबारे किटेर भन्न गाह्यो थियो । तर अब हामी त्यस स्थितिमा छैनौँ । चांगुमा प्राप्त यस महत्त्वपूर्ण उपलब्धिले हाम्रा विचार र धारणाहरूमा ठूलो परिवर्तन ल्याएका छन् । यिनै परिवर्तित विचार,

तुलनात्मक अध्ययन र प्रमाणका आधारमा हामीले स्वतन्त्र गणेशमूर्तिको परंपरालाई लिच्छ-
विकालको चरमोत्कर्षा युगमन्दा पनि अफ अगाडिसम्म लान सक्दछौ ।

वनोट र शैलीका आधारमा चांगुको यस गणेशमूर्तिमन्दा जेठो मूर्ति (चित्र नं. २०)
चिक्कमुगलवाट जैशिवेवल जाने वाटाको देव्रेतर्फ रहेको छ । यस मूर्तिलाई प्रा. श्री प्रयागराज
शमाले सातौं शताब्दी ताकाको मान्नुभएको छ^{१४} । त्यस्तै मज्जीपाटको गणेशमूर्ति (चित्र नं. २१)
लाई पनि शैलीका आधारमा सातौं शताब्दीको मान्नु उपयुक्त हुन्छ । (यी तीनै मूर्तिहरूको
स्थिति, परंपरागत वनोट र ढाँचाका आधारमा तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गर्न सजिलो हुने भनी
यहाँ दिइएको हो) ।

इशाको सातौं शताब्दीको अन्त्यतिरको आको रउटा उत्कृष्ट देवप्रतिमा (चित्र नं. २२)
चांगुको मण्डारमा फेला परेको छ । पहिचान गर्न नसकिएको उक्त धातुप्रतिमा वढो भाव-
पूर्ण देखिन्छ । सिंहासनमाथि ललितासनमा विराजमान मुख्य मूर्तिको दायाँ बायाँ एक
पुरूष र एक नारीमूर्ति खडा छन् । मुख्य मूर्तिको शरीरमा प्रविष्ट अको रउटा पुरूषमूर्तिले
मुख्य मूर्तिको टाउकोमा दाहिने हातले धिची बायाँ हातले प्रहार गर्न लागेको देखाइएको छ ।
यस प्रतिमाका सबै मूर्तिहरूको टाउकोमा कपालको जुरो देखिन्छ । कुण्डल, हार, वाला,
वाजु र मेखलामा प्राचीन कलाशैली देखिन्छ । प्रतिमाको माथिल्लो भागमा अति आकर्षक
रहेको छ र प्रतिमाको वरिपरि देखिने प्रमामण्डललाई कलात्मक ज्वालावलीका रूपमा
प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । धार्मिक जीवनमा आधारित यस प्रकारको देवप्रतिमा अन्यत्रकतै देख्न
पाइएको छैन । यसमा पाइने ओज र तरंगको जुन धार्मिक पदार्थ कलाको दृष्टिले त्यो
अपूर्व मात्र हैन अद्वितीय पनि छ ।

अब चांगुनारायणको मण्डारमा प्राप्त शिव-परिवारको आको रउटा धातुप्रतिमा
(चित्र नं. २३) वारे चर्चा गरौं । इशाको आठौं शताब्दीको यस विशिष्ट प्रतिमामा जुन
लालित्यपूर्ण कलाका विभिन्न लास्यहरू दृष्टिगोचर भएको छन् त्यसले तात्कालिक युगको
श्रृङ्गारमय रसिलो पदार्थको दृश्य प्रस्तुत गरेको छ । यसमा कैलासको कल्पनामा कुंदिएको
आसनमाथि शिव ललितासनमा बसेका छन् । शिवका चार हातमध्ये दाहिनेतर्फको पछिल्लो
हातमा नागपाश र अघिल्लो हात वर-मुद्रामा छ । देव्रेतर्फको पछिल्लो हातले सादा प्रकार
को त्रिशूल लिएको छ र अघिल्लो हातले उमाकै कम्बर अट्ट्याएको देखिन्छ । शिरमा अर्धचन्द्र-
सहित जटाजुट, कानमा कुण्डल, गलामा हार र हातमा वाला छ । कम्बरमा सामान्य
प्रकारको मेखला छ । शिवको देव्रे कासमा उमा सुखासनमा बसेकी छन् । उमाको दाहिने हात
शिवको तिघ्रामा टेकिएको छ र देव्रे हात अमय-मुद्रामा छ । शिरमा मुकुट, कानमा कुण्डल,
गलामा हार र हातमा वाला छ । शिवको दाहिनेतर्फ वसिरहेको अवस्थाको नन्दी देखिन्छ ।
नन्दीसँगै केउमा मयूरमाथि कार्तिकेय वढो ओजपूर्ण मुद्रामा देखिन्छन् । कुमारको तल आसन-
स्थ स्त्रीमूर्ति छ । उमा-महेश्वरको आसनको ठीकतल गणेश सहित गन्धर्व, यक्षा, विद्याधर

र पिशाच आदि शिवगणहरू विभिन्न नृत्यमुद्रामा देखिन्छन् ।

उमाको देव्रेतर्फ विभिन्न मुद्रामा सेविकाहरू कार्यरत देखिन्छन् । उमा-महेश्वरको दायाँ वायाँ माथितिर चण्डेश्वर, त्रिशंकु, कृत्र धारिणी स्त्री र सूर्य चन्द्र छन् । उमा-महेश्वरको ठीकमाथि कृत्र र कृत्रमाथि शिवलिंग देखिन्छ । यस प्रतिमाका सबै मूर्तिहरू नग्न र अर्धनग्न अवस्थामा रहेका छन् ।

इशाको सातौँ शताब्दीका प्राप्त अरु मूर्तिहरूमा गरुडनारायण (चित्र नं. २४) को मूर्ति र मण्डारमा प्राप्त गरुड (चित्र नं. २५) को मूर्ति विशेष उल्लेखनीय छन् । यी मूर्तिहरू मा पाइने ओज शारीरिक तरङ्ग र प्रफुल्लताको जुन मामिकपदा छ त्यो नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको दृष्टिले माथिल्लो स्तरका देखिन्छन् ।

माथि चर्चा गरिएका मूर्तिहरूमध्ये चाँगुको मण्डारमा प्राप्त धातुको यो गरुडासन विष्णुको प्रतिमा (चित्र नं. २४) विशेष अवलोकनीय छ । चाँगुको प्रसिद्ध गरुडासन विष्णु-मूर्तिसँग द्यामै मेल खाने यस प्रतिमाका केही उल्लेखनीय विशेषताहरू पनि छन् । वितत-पदा गरुडमाथि विराजमान विष्णुको स्थिति, मुकुट, कीर्तिमुख र आयुष तथा आयुषधारणा गरेको शैलीलाई हेर्दा यो प्रतिमा चाँगुको बहुचर्चित गरुडासन विष्णुमूर्तिसँग हुबहु मिल्दछ । तर यस मूर्तिमा पाइने गोलो प्रभामण्डल, चक्र र प्रतिमाको पृष्ठभूमिमा देखिने बादल वा आकाशरूपको कलात्मक पदालाई ध्यान दिएको सण्डमा यो मूर्ति चाँगुको उक्त मूर्तिमन्दा अगाडिको प्रतीत हुन्छ र 'लस ऐन्जलेस कन्ट्रि म्युजियम अफ आर्ट्स' मा भएको हेरामानेक संग्रहबाट प्राप्त गरुडासन विष्णुमूर्तिसँग दाँज्न सकिन्छ ।

यसै प्रसंगमा चाँगुको मण्डारमा प्राप्त धातुको गरुड प्रतिमा (चित्र नं. २५) को उपलब्धिलाई विशेष महत्त्वको मान्नु पर्दछ । यसमा पाइने शैली, वनोट, भेष-भूषा र स्थिति अन्य प्राप्त गरुडमूर्तिहरूमन्दा वेग्लै ढाँचाका छन् । चाँगु, हाँडीगाउँ, मसन, मरु र नारायणहिटीका प्रसिद्ध गरुडमूर्तिहरूका समूहमा राख्दा टङ्कालो रूपमा देखापर्ने यसका चास-लाग्दा पदा हुन्-किरीट, कुण्डल, हार, कल्लो र लगाँटी ।

ठूला र वाटुला आँखा, धेप्चो तर चुच्चो परेको नाक, फण्डै मुठ्ठिभरका जुगा र दारी-मा यो मूर्ति प्राँढ देखिन्छ । अन्य नेपाली गरुडमूर्तिहरू प्राय युवक देखिन्छन् । तर यो मूर्ति वूढो भैकन पनि तेजिलो छ र सम्पन्न परिवारको मुख्य व्यक्तिको साथै गाउँको थकाली वा मुखियामा पाइने व्यक्तित्वको संकेत हुन्छ । त्यसैले नेपाली गरुडमूर्तिहरू शुद्ध गरुडहरूकै मूर्ति नभै विभिन्न दाता वा भक्तहरूका प्रतिमा हुन् भन्ने कुरा यसबाट पनि स्पष्ट देखिन्छ ।

इतिहास र संस्कृतिका साथै नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको दृष्टिले पनि चाँगुनारायणको सम्पूर्ण खोज महत्त्वपूर्ण एवं रामोन्वकारी छ । यहाँ प्राप्त थुप्रै धातुका मूर्तिहरूले हामीलाई जुन एउटा नयाँ माग देखाएका छन् त्यो वडो उत्साहजनक छ ।





चित्र नं. २

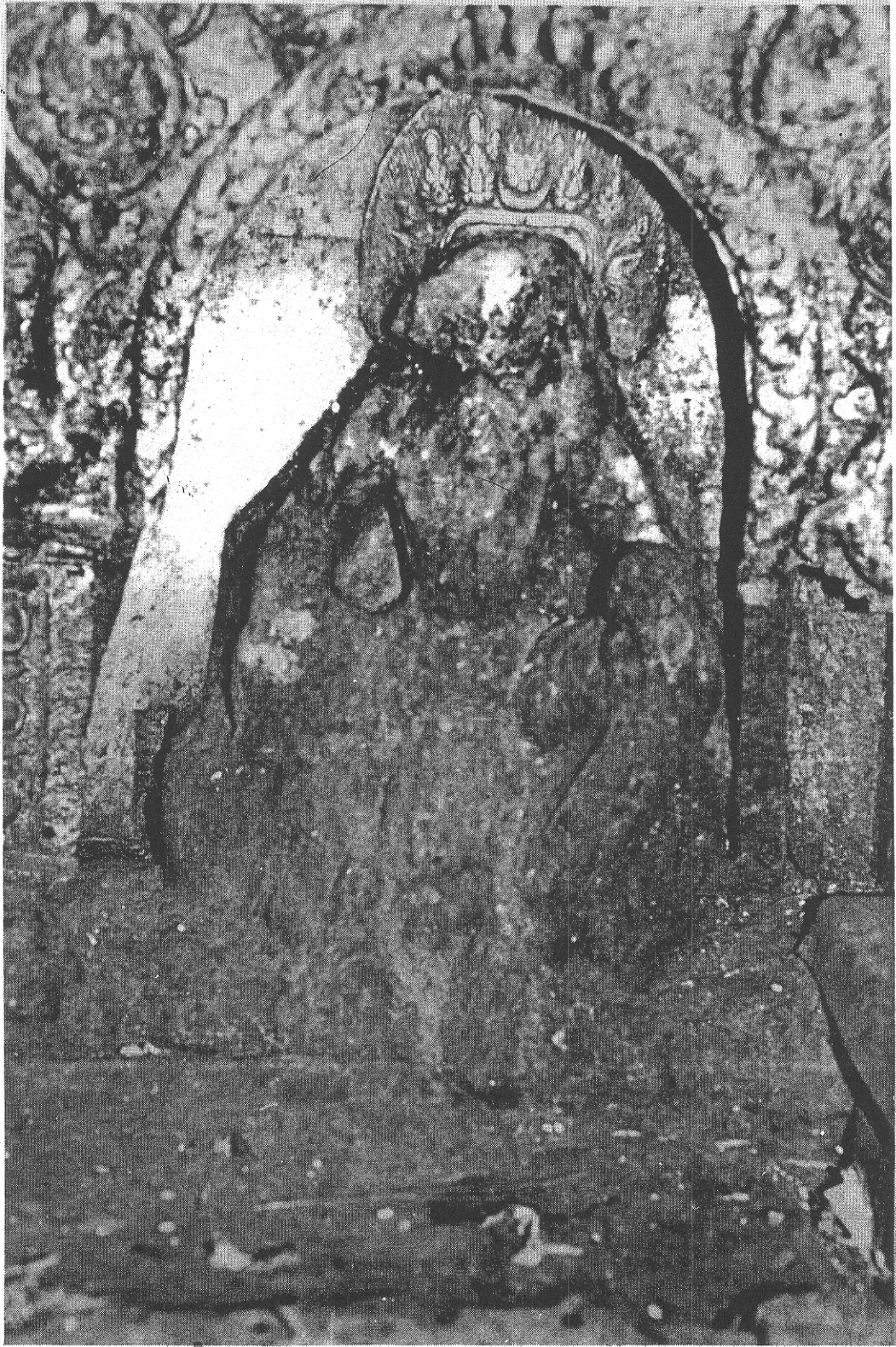




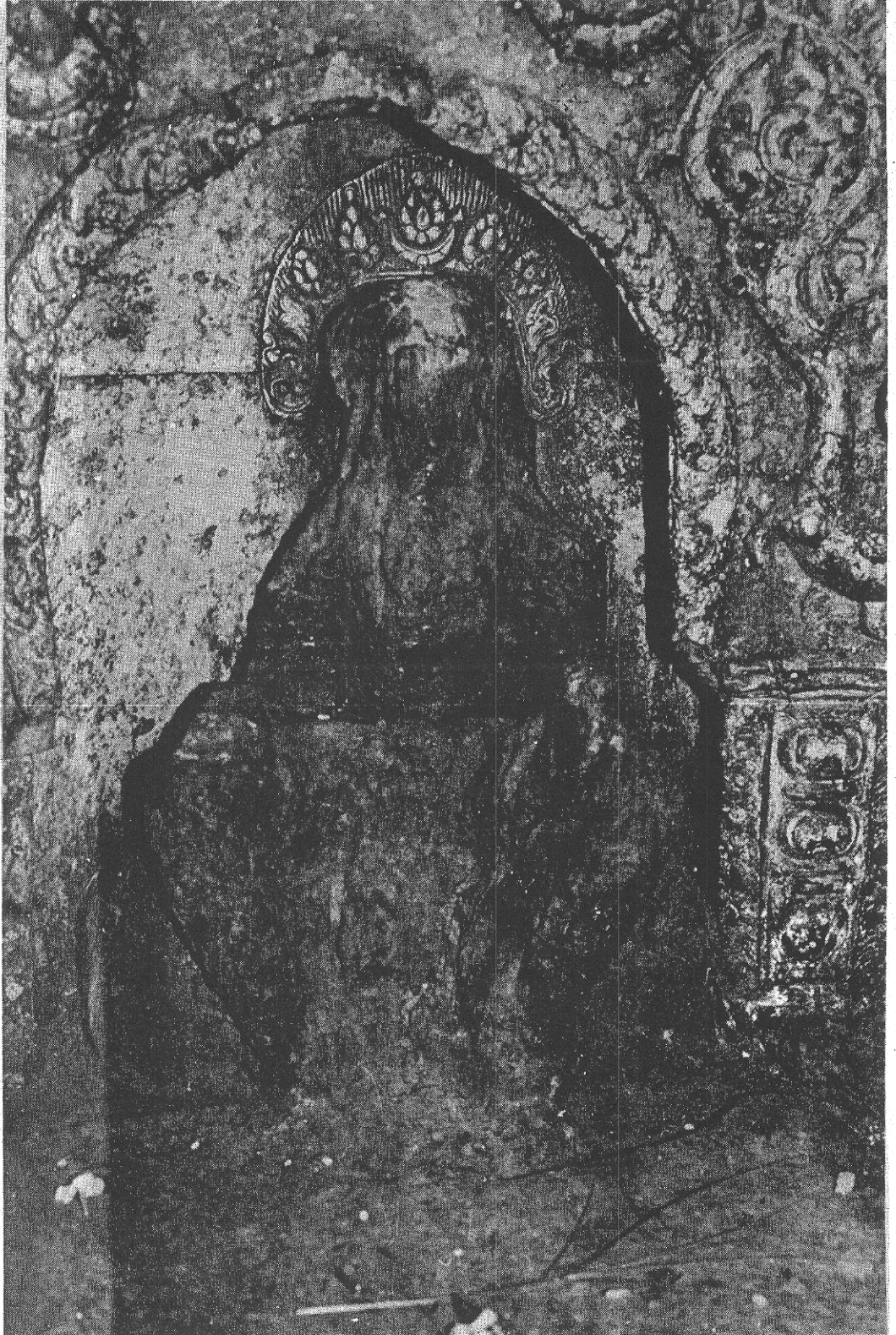
ચિત્ર નં. ૨



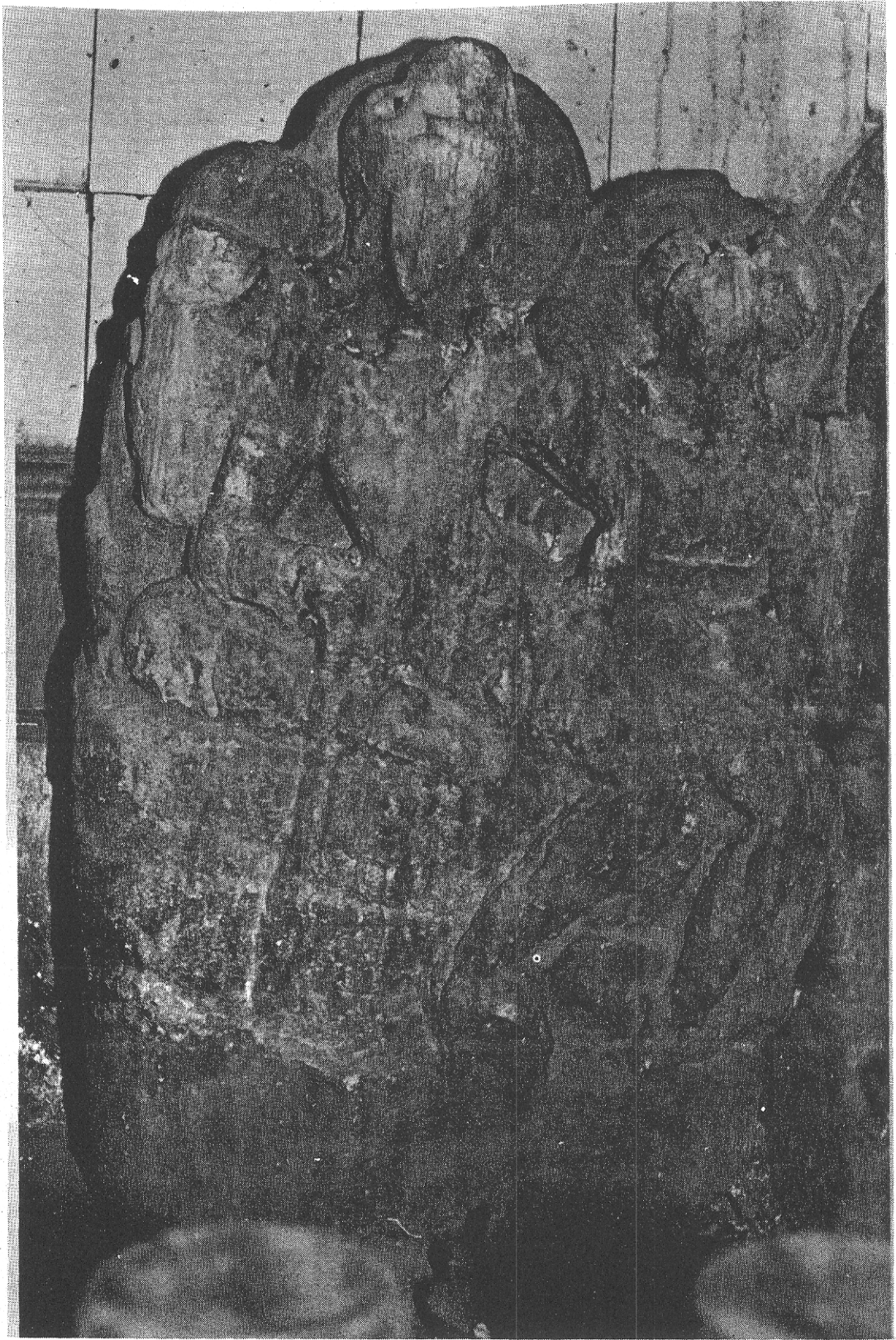
चित्र नं. ३



चित्र नं. ४



चित्र नं. ५

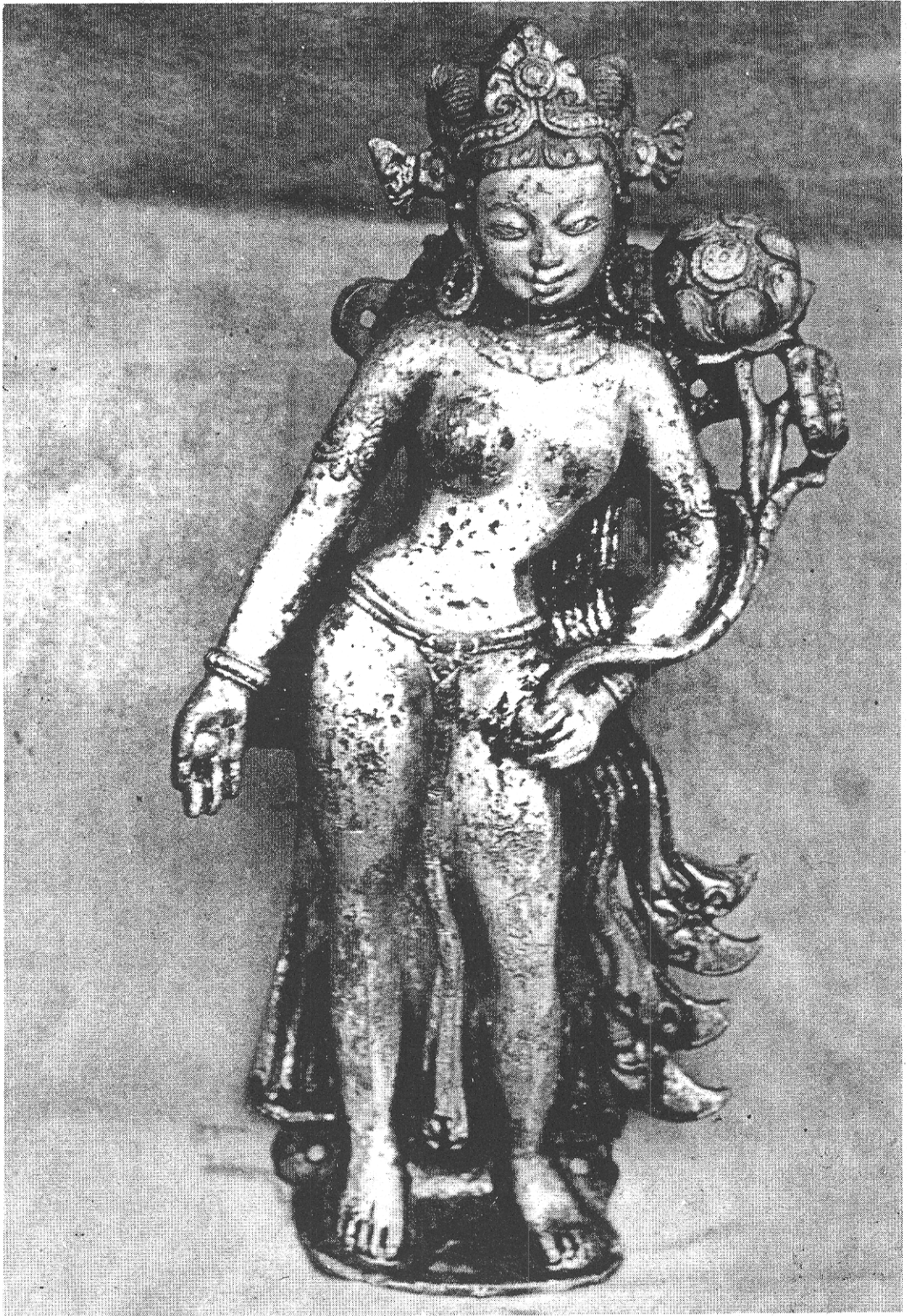


ચિત્ર નં. ૬

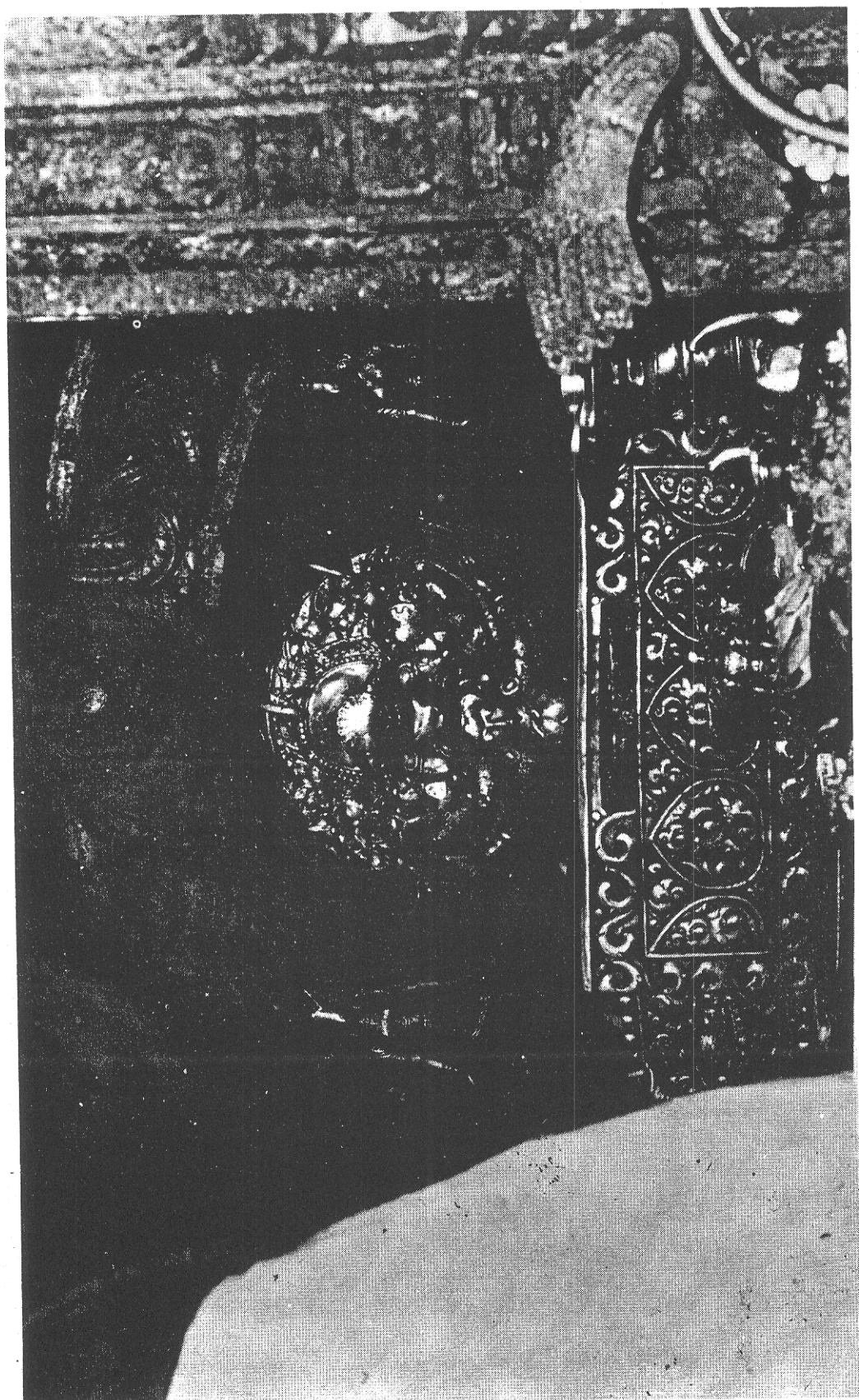




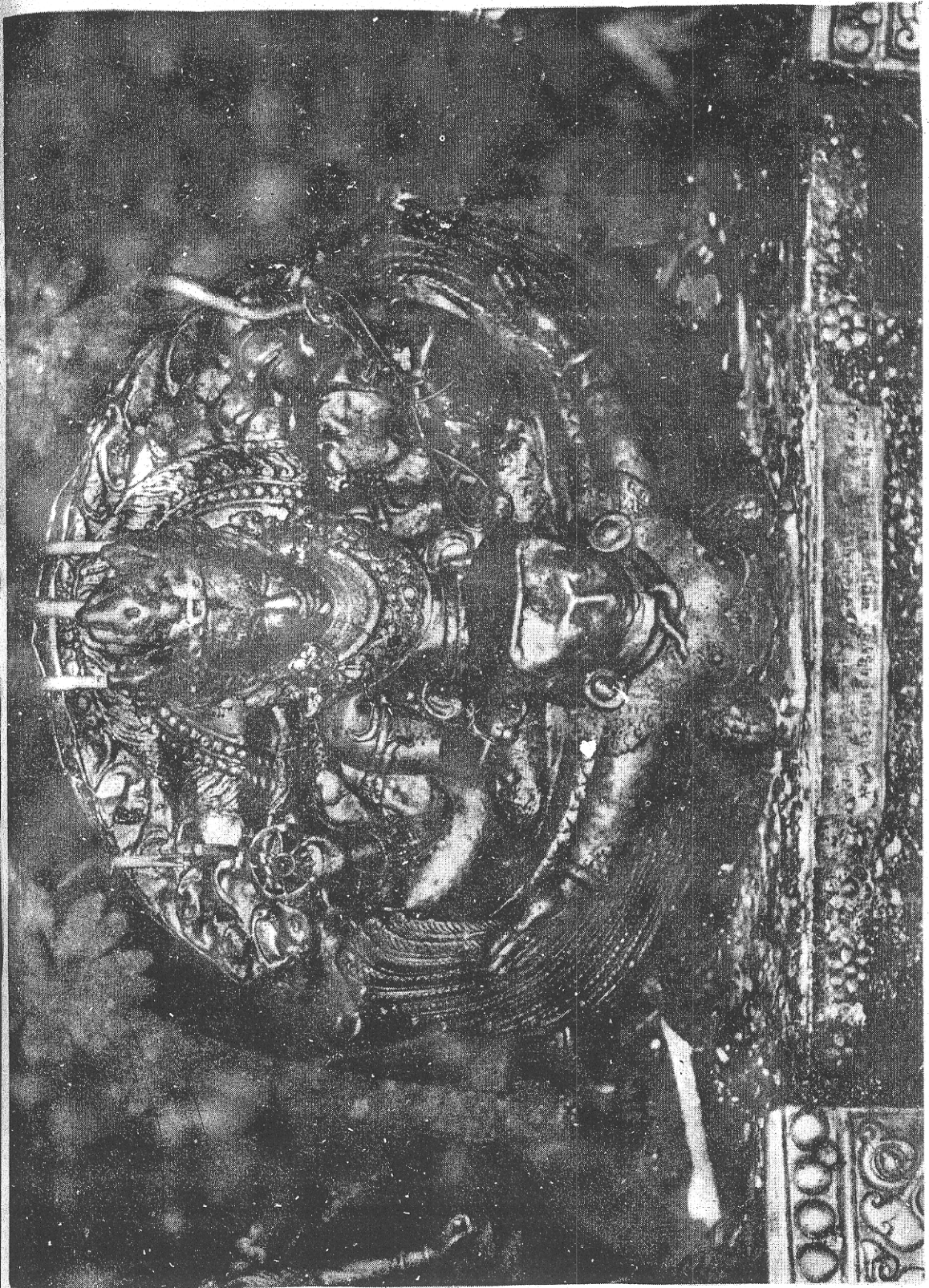
चित्र नं. ८



चित्र नं. ६



चित्र नं. १०





चित्र नं. १४



चित्र नं. १५

૧૬૪ સિ એન ઇ એસ જર્નલ, મોલમ ૮, નં. ૨ (જુન ૧૯૮૧)



ચિત્ર નં. ૧૮



चित्र नं. १६

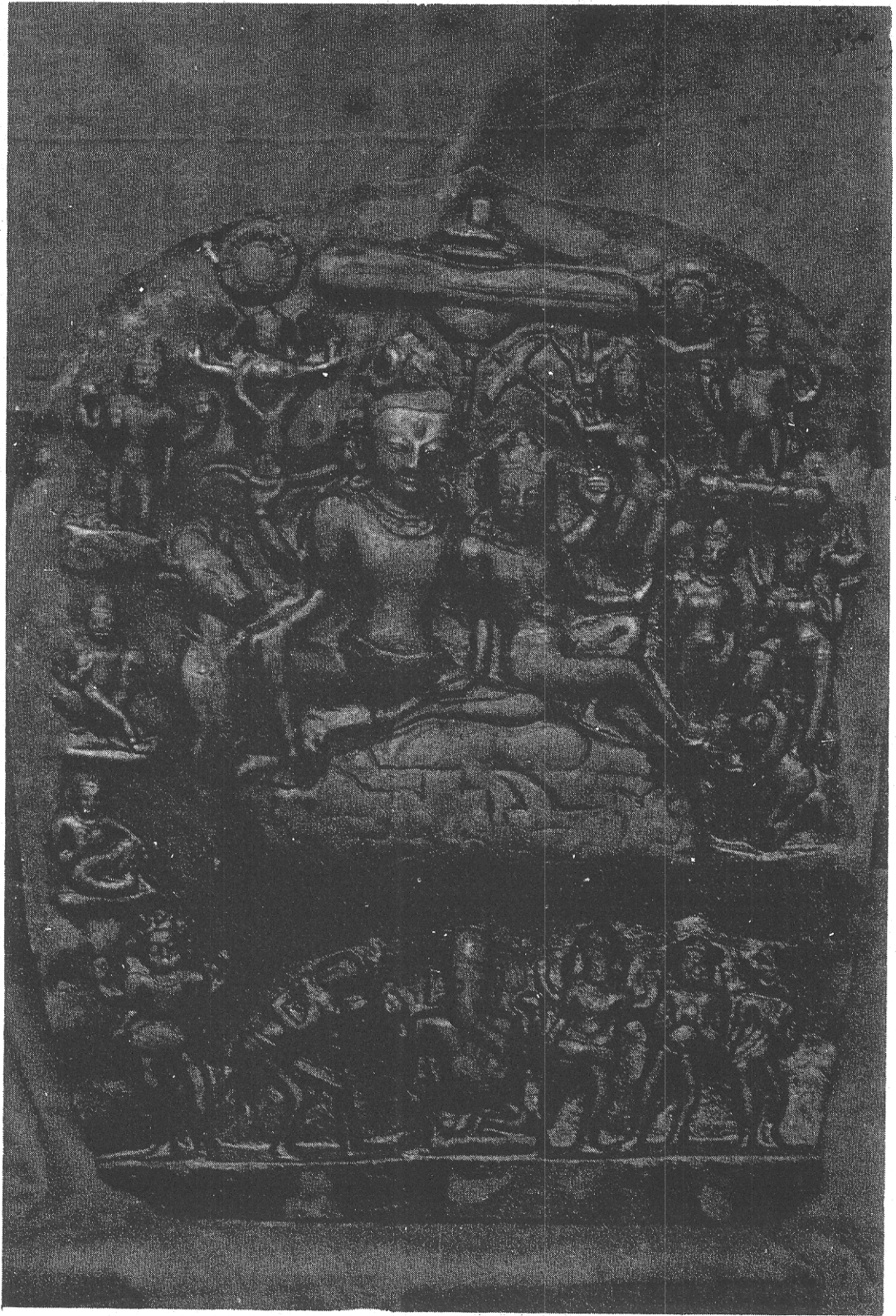


चित्र नं. २०





चित्र नं. २२



चित्र नं. २३



चित्र नं. २४



चित्र नं. २५

नेपाली मूर्तिविज्ञानमा अत्यधिक महत्त्व राख्ने धातुकलाको साथै अन्य मूर्तिहरूको तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गरी मूल्यांकन गर्ने जो प्रयास यसमा गरिएको छ, त्यसका प्रमाण र आधारहरू पनि छन्, ती हुन्- तिथिमिति अंकित अभिलेखयुक्त अन्य मूर्तिहरू । काल अंकित यस्ता प्रामाणिक मूर्तिकलाका आधारमा माथि उल्लिखित मूर्तिहरूको तुलनात्मक अध्ययन र विश्लेषण गर्ने प्रयास गरिएको छ । परन्तु नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको सही मूल्यांकन गर्ने काम अत्यन्त जटिल छ । किनकि नेपाली समाजको परंपरागत रीतिरिवाज, धार्मिक भावना र सामाजिक पदालाई नबुझी नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको निस्पृह विवेचना गर्न सक्दैन । अन्ततोगत्वा नेपाली मूर्तिविज्ञानको विश्लेषण र मूल्यांकन गर्दा नेपाली आंखा, आत्मा र मन चाहिन्छ, त्यतिभित्रै नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको सही मूल्यांकन हुन सक्दैन । तर कहिलेकाँहि एउटै शैली, वनौट र परंपराका आधारमा निर्मित विविध कालका मूर्तिहरूले हाम्रा अगाडि समस्या खडागरिदिएका हुन्छन् । परन्तु यस किसिमका समस्याहरूले हाम्रा विचार र धारणाहरूमा परिवर्तन ल्याउन खोज्दछन् तापनि त्यतिवेला हामीले आफ्नो स्वविवेकलाई पनि प्रयोग गर्नु पर्दछ । यसको मतलब नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको आफ्नै वनौट, शैली र मौलिकताका पृथक गुणहरू नभएको भन्ने चाहिँ होइन ।

यस्ता कुरामा विचार नराख्दा नेपाली मूर्तिकलावारे लेख्ने केही विद्वान्हरू वास्तविकताबाट धेरै टाढा पुगेका देखिन्छन् । उदाहरणको लागि प्रतापादित्यपालद्वारा लिखित *The Arts of Nepal, Sculpture I* लाई लिन सकिन्छ ।

जस्तै चाँगुको गरुड, लाजिम्पाटमा प्राप्त विष्णुविक्रान्तको मूर्ति, हाँडिगाउँको गरुड र देवपाटनको शंकरनारायणको मूर्ति, जसमा तिथिमिति र काल निणित आधारहरू छन् । तर यी कुरालाई प्रतापादित्यपाल ठोस आधारविना नै मान्न चाहनु हुन्छ । शैली र वनौटका आधारमा यी मूर्तिहरू अंकित काल भन्दा पछाडिका हुन् भन्ने उहाँका आफ्नै तर्क र विचारहरू छन्^{१५} । तर मृगस्थलीको उमा-महेश्वर, चावहिल ठूलो चैत्यमा भएका मूर्तिहरू, अज्ञातस्थानको अभिलेखयुक्त धातुको विष्णुमूर्ति^{१६} (हाल यो Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay को संग्रहमा छ भन्ने ज्ञात भएको छ) र चाँगुको गरुडनारायण (मन्दिरको पूर्व पटिको) मूर्तिहरूको मूल्यांकन र कालनिर्णयवारे वहाँको विचार र तर्कहरू विलकुलै गलत सावित भएका छन् ।

मृगस्थलीको उमा-महेश्वरको मूर्तिको पादपीठमा मानदेवताकाको लिपि स्पष्ट^{१७} । त्यसैले यस मूर्तिलाई ईशाको पाँचौँ शताब्दीभन्दा पछिको मान्न मिल्दैन । तर यस मूर्तिलाई पि.पाल सातौँ शताब्दीको मान्नु हुन्छ^{१८} । त्यस्तै चावहिल चैत्यको निर्माण काल ईटाँ शताब्दीताका भएको थियो भन्ने प्रमाण त्यहाँ प्राप्त अभिलेखमा पाइन्छ^{१९} । यसमा पनि उहाँको भिन्नै मत छ^{२०} । Prince of Wales Museum को संग्रहमा भएको विष्णुमूर्ति

लिच्छवि संवत् १७२ को हो ^{२१}। यसलाई पि.पाल नेपाल संवत् संफी स्थारी शताब्दीताका (१०५२ ई.सं.) को मान्नु हुन्छ र अझ उहाँ प्रश्न सूचक चिन्हद्वारा आफ्ना अव्यक्त धारणाहरू त्यसमन्दा पनि पछिल्लो कालको सावित गर्न खोज्नु हुन्छ ^{२२}। त्यस्तै चाँगुको गरुड-नारायणको पादपीठमा लिच्छवि संवत् १७२ को अभिलेखयुक्त तिथिमिति अंकित छ ^{२३}। तर यसमा पनि पि.पालको ध्यानगए जस्तो मलाह लाग्दैन। किनकि उहाँ यसलाई पनि तेही शताब्दीको मान्नु हुन्छ ^{२४}। उक्त ग्रथमा गरिएका नेपाली मूर्तिकलाको मूल्यांकन र काल-निर्णयको अति त्रुटिपूर्ण र विवेकहीन प्रस्तुतिकरणवारे विवेचना गर्न यस सानो लेखमा संभव छैन। त्यसैले पछि यथास्थानमा विस्तारपूर्वक यसवारे पनि विचार गरिने छ।

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जंगबहादुरको विदेशनीति र सं. १९०४ को पेचिन जाने प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल

ज्ञानमणि नेपाल^१

आमुस- दुइ ढुङ्गाको तरुल जस्तो मरर रहेको यो देशले सधैं दुइ ठूला महादेशको ढेपाइ चैपाइ बाट बचेर विचार पुन्याई आफ्ना पाइला चाल्नु परेको थियो । दुबैतिर सन्तुलन कायम गरी विदेशनीति चलाउनु परेको थियो भने अर्कोतिर आफ्नो विजय-अभियान पनि चाल्नु थियो । यसै-अनुरूप पृथ्वीनारायणका पालादेखि दुबै तर्फबाट बची पूर्वपश्चिम बढ्ने नेपालले नीति लिएको थियो र यसैमा उसले आशातीत सफलता पनि हासिल गर्दै लगेको थियो । चीनवादशाहसित घा राख्नु मन्ने नीति पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको मर पनि उनका पालामा र उनका सेसपछि १५ वर्षसम्म पनि पेचिनसँग नेपालको प्रत्यक्षा सम्बन्ध कायम हुन सकेको थिएन । विभिन्न आर्थिक राजनीतिक कारणले गर्दा सं १८४५ मा नेपालको मोटसँग लडाइँ छेडियो । यसमा मोटले पेचिनसँग गुहार माग्यो । मोटको गुहार गर्न पेचिनबाट चीनी सेना सटिएर आयो । मोटको मदत-गार बन्न आएको चीनी पदाले युद्ध हुनामा मोटकै अर्थेलो पैल्यायर लडाइँ गर्नपछि नलागी सुलहसन्धितर्फ लागेकोले चीनी सेनापतिको मध्यस्थतामा नेपाल तिब्बत-सन्धि मयो । यहाँसम्म कि मोटको अर्थेलो हुंदाहुँदै पनि ऐनमाँकामा अधि सरी न्यायअन्या छुट्याएर सम्पूर्णता गराउने प्रयत्न नगरेर मोटको पदा लिएबापत तात्कालिक अम्बेन-लाइँ पेचिनबाट नसीहत पनि दिइयो । यसपछि नेपालको पेचिनसँग प्रत्यक्षा सम्बन्ध मयो । वादशाहसँग कृतज्ञताज्ञापन गर्न सरसौगात साथ हरि शाहीको नेतृत्वमा पेचिनमा प्रतिनिधिमण्डल गयो । यसरी बहादुर शाहले नेपालको वैदेशिकसम्बन्धको पुरानो सूत्रलाई गाँसेर पेचिनसँग नयाँ सम्बन्धको सूत्रपात गरे । यता मोटसँग भएको सन्धि-अनुसार मोटले नेपाललाई प्रतिवर्ष पचास हजार रु. तिर्नुपर्ने थियो । १ वर्षवाद सो रूपैयाँ उसले तिरेन ।

एक त चीनी सेनापतिकै मध्यस्थतामा भएको सन्धिलाई मोटले पालना गरेन, दोस्रो स्यामपाँ लामाको टसी लहुन्पो मठको श्री-सम्पत्ति हरियो र उनी नेपालमा शरणमा बसेका थिए । तेस्रो नेपालको कुती केरुङ्गमा आधी अधिकार सनातनदेखि चलिआएकै थियो । चौथो नेपालले पनि प्रत्यक्षा वादशाहसँग सम्बन्ध गासिसकेको थियो । इत्यादि सब कारणबाट सुरिएर कुती केरुङ्ग दिगचामा आफ्नो अधिकार जमाउन नेपालले चाहेको र यो निहुमा

१. श्री-ज्ञानमणि नेपाल, नेपाल तथा एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्रका उप-प्राध्यापक हुनुहुन्छ ।

उसले यी प्रेदशमा आफ्नो अधिकार जमायो पनि टशीलहुन्यो मठको धेरै श्रीसम्पत्ति नेपालीका हात लाग्यो । ४५ सालमा जस्तै यस पालि पनि चीनले नेपालकै पदा लेला, किनकि आफैले गरिदिएको सन्धिको उल्लंघन मोटले गरेको छ, फेरि स्यामर्पा अन्यायमा निकालिएका र उनको मठको श्रीसम्पत्ति लिनुमा पनि नेपालको औचित्य छ मन्ने कुरा त्यस बेलाका नीति-निर्धारक नायब बहादुर शाह दामोदर पाँडेहरूले सोचेका थिए । तर यस पालि स्थिति उल्टा पर्न गयो । उनले सोचेसम्मका मन्दा विपरीत मोटको सहायताका लागि आएको चीनी सेनाका अधिपति टुङ्थ्याङ्ग नेपाली पदाको कुरा नसुनी मोटको पदामा लड्न मैदानमा उत्रे । चीन नेपाल युद्ध भयो । परिणाम धैरुङ्गसम्म लड्दै आएपछि टुङ्थ्याङ्गले संझौतावार्ता सुरु गरे । युद्ध बन्द भयो । संझौता-अनुसार ५।५ वर्षमा नेपाली प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल सरसँगत लिई पेचिन जाने बन्दोबस्त भयो । यति कुरा हामीले माथि नविचार गरिसकिएको छ । यस-अतिरिक्त उन्नाइसौं शताब्दीसम्म अर्थात् १८६६ सम्म चीन जाने प्रतिनिधि मण्डलको पाए-सम्मको विवरण पनि प्रस्तुत गरिसकिएको छ^१। नेपाल चीनयुद्धबाट नेपालको सार्वभौमिक सत्ता-मा आँच आयो । नेपालले पेचिनको अधीनता स्वीकार गरी कर बुझाउन लाग्यो इत्यादि कुरा पनि प्रचारमा आएका छन् । यस बारेमा विस्तृत चर्चा पनि माथि नै भइसकेको छ । यो युद्ध किन भयो, कसका अर्थेलाए भयो यसमा लाभ हानि के कति भए । यो प्रतिनिधि मण्डलको आवागमनबाट के कस्ता उपलब्धि थिए मन्ने कुरा पनि अब यहाँ दोहोर्‍याउनु आवश्यक छैन । अब यहाँ ता बीसौं शताब्दीको सुरुदेखि बदलिंदो परिस्थितिमा नेपालको पेचिन सम्बन्धले कस्तो रूप लियो मन्ने सम्बन्धमा मात्र विचार गर्न लागिएको छ । जंगबहादुर-को उदयपछि गएका प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलको बारेमा मात्र केही मन्नु परेको छ ।

विदेशनीतिका बारेमा इतिहासकारको मनाइ - वि.सं. १९०३ मा जंगबहादुर नेपाल-को राज्यसत्तामा सर्वेसर्वा भए । त्यस बेलाको परिस्थितिमा एक पदाको उदय हुँदा अर्को पदाको विनाश हुनु साधारण थियो । तर जंगबहादुरको उदय चाहिँ अलिक अनौठो थियो । यो मन्दा अधि एक पदाको उदय हुँदा अर्को पदा निमिट्यान्त हुँदैन्थ्यो । राजाको अधिकार पनि सोसिँदैन्थ्यो । यद्यपि भीमसेन थापाले रणबहादुरको आज्ञाले दामोदर पाँडेको समूलोच्छेदन गरेका थिए । त्यस्तै उनले ६३ सालमा पनि विरोधी उच्च मारादारलाइ पनि रणबहादुर-को वधमा सरीक भएको अभियोगमा पारेर पन्साएका भए पनि बाहिर र सदरमा रहेका अरू माइ-मारादारको कमी थिएन । राजा पनि नाबालक हुन्जेलमात्र भीमसेन थापाको हाइ-दुहाइ चल्याए, राजा नाबालक हुने-विधिकै भीमसेन थापाको अधिकार सोसिएको र उनको पतन पनि भएको थियो । तर जंगबहादुरले साराका सारा मारादारलाइ समाप्त पारेर राजालाइ पनि निःशक्त गराएर राजसत्तामा आएका थिए । उनी अधिकारमा आउँदा ३० वर्षको उमेरमा पनि पुगेका थिएनन् । तैपनि उनी दरवारको चालबाजी राम्ररी देखेसुनेका थिए ।

१. ज्ञानमणि नेपाल - नेपालको वैदेशिक-सम्बन्ध- नेपालचीनसम्बन्धी अभिलेख (अप्रकाशित) ।

भारदारकै छोरा नाति मएकाले अब म कसरी शक्तिमा अडिरहन सक्छु मन्ने र कसरी दुहतिर-
का दुह शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रसंग संतुलन मिलाउने सक्छु मन्ने कुरा पनि उनले सोचिरहनु पर्ने
थिएन । यो संतुलन मिलाउने काइदा उनले बुझिसकेका थिए । धेरै इतिहासकारहरूले जंग-
बहादुर अंग्रेज रेजिडेण्टसंग मिलेका थिए, उनकै सल्लाहाले उनले कोतपर्व गरेका थिए र पछि
उनी सर्वात्मना इष्टइण्डिया कम्पनी सरकारका हशारामा नाच्च थाले मन्ने कुरा लेखेका
छन् । यसै धारणालाई मनमा राखी आधुनिक इतिहासमा कलम चलाउने एक इतिहासकारले
अर्को बढेर जंगबहादुरले आफू अधिकारमा आएपछि अंग्रेजलाई सुशी पार्न पेचिनसंगको सम्बन्ध
विच्छेद गरिदिए मन्नेसम्म कुरा लेखिदिए-“सं. १९०४ मा नेपालबाट ५ वर्षे प्रतिनिधि
मण्डल जाने पालो आएको थियो, जंगबहादुरले शक्तिमा आउने बित्तिकै यो प्रतिनिधि
मण्डल पठाउने काममा प्रतिबन्ध लाए । यसको लागि खास पत्यार लाग्दो कारण त हैन ।
संभवतः सं. १८६४, र १८६६ का प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल प्रति कलकत्ताको हस्सलाई ध्यानमा राखी
उनले आगोमा घ्यू धप्ने काम नगरेका होलान् । धेरै नेपाली शरणार्थीहरू भारतीय भूमिमा
रहेका थिए । उनीहरूलाई ब्रिटिशहरूले सहायता नगर्नु भनेर पनि इष्टइण्डिया कम्पनीसंग
विशेष समझदारीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध राख्नु उनलाई जरूरी पर्न आयो । यही परिस्थितिलाई
ध्यानमा राखी जंगबहादुरले चीनसंगको सामान्य सम्बन्ध कायम नराख्ने कुरा महशूस गरे
होलान् । सं. १९०४ मा चीन जाने प्रतिनिधि मण्डललाई स्थगित राख्न जे कारण मएपनि
५ वर्ष पछि परिस्थिति बदलियो । त्यसकारण जंगबहादुरले पुनः पेचिनसंगको सम्बन्ध
नवीकरण गर्ने विचार गरे^२ । सं. १९०६ मा चाहिँ पेचिनमा प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल पठाए, ४
सालमा चाहिँ आफू प्रति ब्रिटिशहरूको भावना राम्रो पारी भारतमा रहेका आफ्ना
विरोधीलाई समाप्त गर्न पनि नपठाएका हुन् मन्ने भाव माथिको वाक्यबाट बुझिन्छ ।
अब हामीले सं. १८०४ मा नेपाली प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल चीन गयो गएन मन्ने सम्बन्धमा विचार
गर्नुभन्दा पहिले जंगबहादुरको नीतिवारे अलिकति बुझ्नु पनि आवश्यक हुन आउँछ ।

अंग्रेजसंग सम्बन्ध:- जंगबहादुर शक्तिमा आएपछि उनले लिएको विदेशनीतिमा र उनी
मन्दा पहिलेका पाँडेहरूलाई छोडेर उनका मावली सल्लक मीमसेन थापा माथवरसिंह थापाले
र रंगनाथ गुरुज्यू चौ.फ.त्यजग शाहहरूले चलाउँदै आएको विदेशनीतिका बारेमा तुलनात्मक
अध्ययन गर्दै जाँदा केवल सामान्य बाहिरी औपचारिक आवरणमा चाहिँ जरूर केही फरक
परेको जस्तो देखिए पनि भित्री मौलिक कुरामा त्यति अन्तर आएको देखिँदैन । हो,
ब्रिटिशविरोधी उग्र नारामा अब केही नरमपना आयो, मीमसेन थापाले आकर्षक उग्र अंग्रेज
विरोधी नारा पहिले घन्काएता पनि गर्न केही सकेका होइनन् । आसिरमा आएर जंग-
बहादुरले लिए जस्तै नरम नीति अपनाउने पन्थो उनले पनि । बेलायत गएर ब्रिटिशसरकारसंग

२. लियोरोज - नेपाल स्ट्राटेजी फर् सर्वाइवल, २०२८, १०७ पृ.।

समझदारी बढाउने कुरा भीमसेन थापाले पनि नसोचेका होइनन् । यस काममा पनि उनी असफल रहे, जंगबहादुर सफल बने, त्यतिमात्र फरक हो । फौजलाई अंग्रेजीकरण गर्नु जर्नेल कर्णेल पद ग्रहण गर्नु अंग्रेजी रहन-सहन अपनाउनुले भीमसेन थापाको आन्तरिक समर्थन अंग्रेजप्रति थिएन भन्न सकिन्छ । यो कुरा नेपालदरबारलाई धेरै खटकिरहेको थियो र नै उनको पतनको लगत्तै केही दिनपछि जर्नेली कर्णेली लेफ्टेनी पगारी माकुप गरी पुरानै श्रेस्ता बमोजिम चौतरिया काजी सरदार कुम्भेदान सुबेदार आदि पद कायम गरिएका थिए^३ । अंग्रेज रेजिडेण्ट भीमसेन थापाका समर्थक र हितचिन्तक नै थिए, भीमसेनले आत्महत्या गरी मरेको खबर सुन्ने बित्तिकै उनी 'रूमालले मुख छोपी सुक्क सुक्क गर्दै रोस्को' कुरा प्रत्यक्षादर्शी कप्तान कखीर खत्री मुशी लक्ष्मीदासले कहेका थिए । त्यसवेला थापा परिवारले 'अंग्रेजबहादुरलाई ज्यान हुर्यत बचाइदिने, दुःखी विनिसापमा मर्नेलाई उद्धार गर्ने' का रूपमा सम्झेका थिए । राम्रो-संग अध्ययन गर्दा जंगबहादुर पनि त्यति धेरै तल खसेर अंग्रेजप्रति समर्पित थिए भन्न सकिँदैन । भलै उनले आफूलाई अंग्रेज समर्थकको रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरे पनि ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यी मिक्टेरियालाई अनुकूलकी बनाए पनि उनले भनेका सबै कुरा स्वीकार्यरूपमा लिएका चाहिँ थिएनन् । महारा-नीले नेपाल दुर्गम देश छ, यातायातको सुविधाका लागि मेची महाकालीसम्म मधेश पाहाड जहाँबाट सम्भव हुन्छ रेलमार्ग बनाई दिन्छु भन्दा उनले झन्कार गरे । अपहृत्ये गर्दा गर्दै पनि ब्रिटिशसरकारलाई गोरखाली फौज भर्छी गर्ने सरकारी अनुमति दिएनन् तथा रेजिडेण्ट र उनका सहयोगी कुनै पनि अंग्रेजलाई नेपालमा स्वतन्त्ररूपले डुलफिर गर्न पनि दिएनन् । आफूले अंग्रेजको श्रीसम्पत्ति अंग्रेजको मुलुकमा लगेर थुपारेनन्, विदेशमा लगेर धन राख्ने कुरामा ऐन बनाएर रोक लाए, कसैले पनि व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति पनि विदेश लगेर राख्न नपाउने भयो । हत्यादि कुराले उनका विदेशनीतिका बारेमा हामीले उपर्युक्त कुरा भन्नुपरेको हो ।

हुन त उनका नीति सम्बन्धी दोष व्यक्तिगत चरित्रसम्बन्धी दुर्गुण नभएका होइनन्, त्यसमा पनि राणाशासनका पछिल्ला कालका सबै दुर्गुण उनका उपर लगेर थोपार्नु चाहिँ उचित पर्दैन ।

फिरंगीसमर्थनको दोष:- राज-भक्ति, राष्ट्रभक्ति, फिरंगी समर्थनका सम्बन्धमा जंगबहादुरलाई दोष लागे जस्तै यी भन्दा पहिलेका मुस्तियारलाई पनि नलाइएका होइनन् । मुख्य बजीर दामोदर पाँडे फिरंगी समर्थन र राजद्रोह गरेको अभियोग लाइएर शाखासन्तान-सहित दण्डित गरिएका थिए । वास्तवमा बहादुर शाहका अन्य भक्त उनका हाइदुहाइमा कर्कषेष्टिक असफल महँ फर्केका थिए, नक्सको दल विमुक्त बनी बाटा लागेको थियो । राज-भक्तिका बारेमा भन्ने हो भन्ने स्वयंराजबहादुरले पशुपतिको धर्म-शिला छुवाई धर्मपत्र तावाँ-पत्र गराई गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रमको सत्य घाउछु मनी प्रतिज्ञा गराए-मुताविक उनी गीर्वाणयुद्ध

३. चित्तरञ्जन नेपाली - जनरल भीमसेन थापा र तत्कालीन नेपाल, २०२२, २८४-५ पृ.।

कै सती गरेका थिए । राजमक्तिमा उनी कमजोर थिए मनी आँकन कुनै इतिहासकारले सक्छु होला जस्तो मलाई लाग्दैन । तैपनि के गर्नु, उनी राजद्रोहकै फिर्गीसँग मिलेकै अभियोगमा मारिए । भीमसेन थापालाई पनि राजकुमार मारेको फिर्गीसँग मिलेको अभियोग लागेको थियो । फिर्गीसँग मिले मारादारको सर्वस्व भो दण्डशासना भो भन्ने कुरा नै प्रचारमा आयो^४ । भीमसेन थापाको स्त्रीवश तथा लहडी 'राजा प्रति त्यत्रो' अन्धराज मक्ति थियो, 'त्यो उनको ठूलो गल्ती थियो'^५ मनी केही इतिहासकारले लेखेको पनि देखिन्छ । त्यस्तो गल्ती नगर्ने माथवरले 'हजूरहरू २ सरकार (राजेन्द्र सुरेन्द्र) बाट राजाज चली सक्तेन हजूरका माहिला पुत्र (उपेन्द्र) लाई ली राजकाज चलाउ' भन्दा उनी मारिएका हुन् भन्ने कुरा राजेन्द्रको पत्रमा उल्लिखित छ ।

यस्तै जंगबहादुरका उपरमा पनि विभिन्न कुरा प्रचारमा आए । उनलाई उसै बेला दोष लागेका पनि थिए । दोषा जति लगाएपनि उनी सबै अभियोगबाट उम्किए, उनलाई कसैले केही गर्न सकेन, प्रथम त उनले राजेन्द्र विक्रमलाई गद्दीच्युत गरी सुरेन्द्र विक्रमलाई सिंहासनमा राखे, यसमा त उनले ठूलो चातुरीले काम लिएका हुन्, पहिले कान्छी रानी राज्यलक्ष्मीदेवीको आडले कौतपर्व गरे, शक्तिमा आइसकेपछि सुरेन्द्र विक्रमको आडले उनलाई निकाले । तर राजा राजेन्द्र विक्रम कान्छी रानीको पक्षमा लागेर काशी नगहदिएका भए अथवा गएर पनि एकआध वर्षपछि रणबहादुर सङ्ग्रह सरवकै आइदिएका भए जंगबहादुरलाई उनको सिंहासन हर्न हम्मे नै पर्ने थियो । उनी सुरेन्द्रको वैध अधिकार सोसेर आफ्ना छोराछोरा राजा बनाउन जुनसुकै मूल्य चुकाएर पनि तैसकी कान्छी रानीकासाथ लागेर लड्न अधिसरे, के सोज्छु काना, आँखा भने जस्तै जंगबहादुरलाई भयो । प्रचार गर्न पनि उनले राम्रो बाटो पाए औ सुरेन्द्र विक्रमलाई राजसिंहासनमा राखेर राजेन्द्र विक्रम शाहलाई नजरबन्दीमा राख्न पनि सबैको समर्थन ।

यसपछि पनि राजद्रोहको दोषा उनमा लाग्दैन रहे, प्रचार हुँदै रहे, राजालाई गद्दीबाट ओझालेर स्वयं जंगबहादुर राजा हुँदैछन् वायसरायसँग सल्लाहमसविरा गर्दैछन् आदि । तर उनले राजाको अधिकार आत्मसात् गरेका भएपनि राजाको मानमर्यादामा कति पनि आँच आउन दिएका थिएनन्, सुरेन्द्र विक्रमका उनी पक्का मक्त बालककालदेखि बनिरहेका थिए, जसका आज्ञाले इनारमा हाम्फाल्नेसम्म साहसी जोसिमको काम गरेका थिए । उनका माइ छोराबाट राजाप्रति कुनै अपमानजनक सानो तिनो कुरा उठे भने पनि जंगबहादुरका अगाडि ती सबै शान्त भइ जान्थे । पारिवारिक सम्बन्ध गाँसेर सन्धी बन्न आएका जंगबहादुर राजाका अनन्य मक्त मानिन्थे, राजा पनि जंगबहादुर प्रति अनुगृहीत प्रायः सन्तुष्ट पनि थिए । भीमसेन थापाको पतनपछि पेचिन गरेका १८६४ को र १८६६ को प्रतिनिधि मण्डलले उग्र अंग्रेज विरोधी नीति लिएका र त्यसबाट असन्तुष्ट भएको दृष्टदृष्टिद्वारा कम्पनी सरकारलाई खुशी पार्न अंग्रेजको मुलुकमा आफ्ना विरोधमा सन्चालन हुने विरोधी कामकारवाही रोकाउन पनि

४. 'नेपालचीनसम्बन्धी अभिलेख' मा संकलितपत्रबाट । ५. ज.मी.त. नेपाल, ३६ पृ.।

६. 'ने.ची. अभिलेख' बाट ।

आफ्ना पालामा आएको चीन जाने प्रथम पालोमा जंगबहादुरले प्रतिनिधि मण्डल पेचिन पठाएनन् । भारतमा बसेका आफ्ना विरोधीका विरोधी गतिविधि कम भएपछि आफू बेलायत गएर ब्रिटिस सरकारसँग राम्रो सम्बन्ध कायम गरिसकेपछि फिर्ता विरोधी नेपाली जनताको मन राख्न पनि जंगबहादुरले फेरि चीनसँग सम्बन्ध बाध्ने कुरा सोचे र १९०६ मा चाहिँ प्रतिनिधि मण्डल चीन पठाए मन्ने रोजको तर्कतर्फी विचार गर्नु परेको छ । यो कुरा उनले कुन आधारमा लेखे हामीलाई थाह छैन । यसरी नेपालले पेचिनमा प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल मन लागेका बेला पठाउने मन नलागेका बेला नपठाउने कुरा कति मिल्दो जुल्दो थियो, विचारणीय छ । वास्तवमा यो जंगबहादुरलाई अंग्रेजका भक्त बनाउने धूनमा कल्पित कुरा मात्र हो ।

गृहनीति:- कोतपर्व मण्डारखाल पर्वपछि शक्तिसम्पन्न जंगबहादुरले कान्छी रानी राज्यलक्ष्मीलाई बनाइस पठाए । रानीसँग राजा राजेन्द्रविक्रम कार्तिक २७ गते यहाँबाट काशी जान प्रस्थान गरे । मार्गवदि १२ मा जंगबहादुरले ६२ सालको हरणमा परेका बाहुनका विर्ता फिर्ता दिने, सट्टादिने कुरा राजेन्द्रविक्रमकै नामबाट घोषणा गराए^७ । परम्पराप्राप्त श्री ५ को राजगद्दी सुरक्षित पारे, हरिएका सारा बाहुनका विर्ता फिर्ता गराए मन्ने प्रचार गराएर पछि धार्मिक रूढीवादी राजनीति विचार नभएको त्यस बेलाको नेपाली समाजमा लोकप्रिय हुन हुनलाई बेर लागेन । विरोधीलाई उग्र दण्ड र आफ्ना अनुयायी र समर्थनमा आउनेलाई खानादानाको बन्दोवस्त गरिदिएनाले र प्रजामा बैठ बेगार करका मार कम गर्नाले पनि गृहनीति सुलभउन उनलाई बेर लागेन । यसपछि उनी आफ्नो विदेशनीति सपार्न पट्टि लागे ।

विदेशनीति र चीन-सम्बन्ध:- जंगबहादुरले विदेशनीतिमा परिवर्तन ल्याए भने पनि सुधार गरे भने पनि यसपछि नेपालले लहेर इष्टइण्डिया कम्पनीले १८७२ मा लगेर खाएका आफ्ना जग्गा फिर्ता लिन्छ मन्ने आजसम्म प्रचारित हुँदै आएको कुरा चाहिँ बदलियो । जंगबहादुर अंग्रेजसँग युद्ध गर्दैन् मन्ने भाव अंग्रेजले बुफे । एक किसिमले अब उनले सम्झौतावादी नीति अपनाए । बलिया शत्रुसँग लहेर आफ्नो इच्छा पुरा गर्न नसकेपछि सम्झौतावादी नीति अपनाएर आफ्नो कुरा पट्याउन खोज्नु उनको विदेशनीतिको प्रमुख भूमिका रह्यो । अंग्रेजसँग मित्रता बढाउने आत्मीयता बढाउँदै लगेर १८१४ को विद्रोहमा गोरखाली फौज पठाएर आफ्नै रणभूमिमा उत्रेर साहवान अंग्रेजको उपकार गरे । बदलामा नयाँमुलुक फिर्ता ल्याए । राष्ट्रिय दृष्टिकोणबाट यो उनको महान् उपलब्धि मानियो । गुमेको र पाएको देशको दोत्रफलको यकीन क्यानविवेक गरेर गढेर केलाउन नसक्ने त्यस बेलाको नेपाली समाजमा यो प्राप्ति पनि सानो तिनो ठहरिएन । यसले जंगबहादुरको प्रतिष्ठामा श्रीवृद्धि नै गर्‍यो ।

७. ज्ञाणमणि नेपाल - वासुदेवहरणको दोष भेट्ने प्रयास - नेपाल कानूनपरिचर्चा, २१ पृ. । कानून अध्ययन संस्थान, ५६-६७ पृ. ।

यता भारतीयका विरुद्धमा परम्पराको विपरीत अंग्रेजको सहायता गरेको दोष उनलाई लागेको छ तापनि यो मन्दा ४ वर्ष पहिल्यै चीनमा फँलिएको ताइपिंग विद्रोह दबाउन चीनवादशाहलाई दश हजार नेपाली फौजसाथमा लिएर सहयोग दिन आफैँ जान पनि कम्मर कसेका थिए । टाढाको बाटो अफ्यारा घाटजंघार प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल आउँदमा कस्तो गाह्रो परिरहेछ भने फौज पठाउँदा बाटामा दुःख होला पठाउनु पर्दैन, वादशाहले बाहिरबाट सहायता लिने दस्तुर हैन मनियो । हो, जंगबहादुरले पेचिनबाट आफूलाई मदतको सट्टा उल्टै नेपालले वादशाहलाई सहयोग दिने दृढता देखाए, मलै सहायता दिन फौज पठाउनु परेन, त्यो वेरलै कुरा हो । चीनलाई अफ्यारो परेका वेला सहायता दिनु पर्छ मन्ने भावना पक्षिसम्म जागरित थियो, फ्रान्सले चीनमा आक्रमण गरेका वेला ३० हजार तालीमी नेपाली फौज सहायता गर्न पठाउँछौँ मन्ने व्यहोराको पत्र पछि पनि पठाइएको थियो । वादशाहसँग आत्मीयता देखाउँदा देखाउँदै उता विद्रोहले चीन आफ्नै गृहस्थितिमा अल्मिएकी अवसर पारी मोटलाई दबाउन १६१२ मा जंगबहादुरले सैनिक कारवाही गरे । युद्धमा मोटलाई जितेर व्यापार विस्तार गराए । प्रतिवर्ष १० हजार कर पनि तिराए । यो उनको विदेशनीतिको सफलता थियो र यसले उनको यशमा चार चाँद लाइदियो, नेपाली धोको केही मात्रामा पुरा भयो, गुमेको केही देश पनि मिलेर अंग्रेजबाट फिर्ता आयो, लडेर मोट पनि विजित भयो ।

अब हामी प्रासङ्गिक कुरातिर जान्छौँ । माथि नै मनियो, जंगबहादुर उदयपछि १६०४ मा नेपालले पेचिनमा प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल पठाउने पालो थियो । यो मन्दा वर्ष दिन ६ महीना पहिलेदेखि लहासाका अम्बाले पत्र पठाई सूचित गर्दथे र यताबाट स्वीकार गरी पत्र पठाइन्थ्यो र प्रतिनिधि पठाउने तरसर गरिन्थ्यो । यस पाला लहासाबाट पत्र पठाउन किन हो/अलिक ढिलो भएछ र सं. १६०३ फागुनसम्म केही सवर आएन, अनि आफैँ जंगबहादुर लाई तातो लाग्यो । त्यसपछि राजाको नामबाट १६०३ को फागुनमा अम्बाकहाँ पत्र गयो, - 'सदा धेरै पहिले प्रतिनिधि मण्डल पठाउने सम्बन्धमा पत्र लेखीआउँथ्यो, यसपाली मुलेर हो कि किन सो कुरा लेखीआएन' भनेर । 'यत्रो ठूलो कुरा किन मुत्थर्याँ मुलेका हैनौँ', रीत काटेर काम कहिल्लै गर्दैनौँ, हामीले आउनु भनेर मात्र तपाईँहरू आउने गर्दा तपाईँहरूको हज्जत कम हुन जाला तपाईँहरू पनि एक देशका राजा चतुर विचक्षणा हुनुहुन्छ, साबिक वमोजिम ठीक वेलामा मला मानिस पठाउनु होला, उनको नामनमसी आउने बाटो दिनसमेत खुलाई अधिबाटै लेखिपठाउनु होला र साँधसम्म लिन मानिस पठाउन हामीलाई सजिलो पर्छ' मनी अम्बाले लेखे ।

आधेल्लै सालदेखि नेपाल मोट सीमाना रहेका कुती केरुङमा जगत मन्सार दस्तुरका बारेमा गडबड उठी ठूलो कचिङ्गल परिराखेको थियो । सो समस्या समाधान गर्न काजी सुरथसिंह पन्थ र रणबन्ध कार्की केरुङ गएका थिए । तर दस्तुरको घटीबढी चोरी ज्यान

सम्बन्धी मामिला धेरै पर्न गएकोले सर्व समस्या समाधान हुन नसकी उनीहरू फर्केर आएका थिए । केरुङ्गबाट काजीले कोसेली भनी अम्बालाई नेपाले सुकुरीहरू पठाइ दिएको थिए । सो कुरा साबिकमा नचलेको भनी अम्बाले फिर्ता गरी पठाइ दिएको ।

यसै वेला यता काशीबाट अलौमा आएर राजेन्द्र विक्रमले विदेशमा शरण लिएका नेपाली मारादाररअन्य केही अर्धशिक्षित सैनिकका साथ नेपाल पस्ने प्रयत्न गरे । काठमाडौँ-बाट तालीमी फौज पठाएर राजेन्द्रको सो प्रयत्न विफल पारियो । यता उतिवेले सुरेन्द्र विक्रम शाह राजगद्दीमा आरुढ भएर यसको सूचना चीनवादशाहकहाँ पठाइयो, बुबाज्यू काशी जानु भएको आउनु भएन मेरा ज्येठा छोरा महाराजाधिराजको सोफोने गर भनी लालमोहर बजीर मारादार फौजसमेतलाई पठाउनु भएछ र सर्वका आग्रहले प्र.जे. वदि १३ का दिन गादीमा बसें, बुबाज्यूका पालामा जस्तै वादशाहको अर्धशिक्षित माफिक चल्नेछु^{१०} भनेर ।

१९०४ को प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलको सिद्धाप्त यात्रा-विवरणः^{११}

पहिले पठाएको सूचना बमोजिम १९०४ आषाढ १४ गते पेचिन जाने प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल काठमाडौँबाट प्रस्थान गर्‍यो । यसको नेतृत्व उनै केरुङ्ग कचहरीमा जाने काजी सुरधसिंह पन्थले गरेका थिए । सरदार अहिवर्ण बस्नेत र अरू पगरीमा सुवेदार अमरध्वज पन्थ सन्तवीर बस्नेत भक्तवीर अधिकारी हर्षबहादुर पन्थ उजीरसिंह बस्नेत हम्बीर पन्थ कृत्रसिंह सङ्का खरिदार रंगलाल उपाध्याय जमादार गम्भीर पन्थ इन्द्रवीर रामनरसिंह जोरावरसिंह नायक दोमासे तिलुलसिंहहरू थिए । साथै प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलका जम्मा सदस्य ४५ थिए । लामो धेरै दिनको परदेश, प्रतिकूल मौसम, विकट वाटो, लगातारको हिडाई, बाचेर आउने आशा धेरै कम हुने हुँदा सकभर अरू प्रमुख पगरीहरू पनि नभए काजी सरदार चाहिँ अवश्य आफ्ना छोराछोराहरू प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलमा कुनै रूपको सदस्य बनाई साथै लिएर जान्थे । घरमा पनि आफ्नो लेखाजोखा कहेर हिड्थे । यसपाला पनि काजी सरदारले आफ्नो छोराछोराहरू सदस्यको रूपमा साथै लगेका थिए । पगरीको रूपमा अथवा सिपाहीको रूपमा ११२ जना बाहुन पर्न सदस्य हुन्थे । यस पाला पनि साबिकमा केही अन्तरा नपारी वादशाहलाई अर्जी लेखियो । कति पनि घटबढ नगरी सौगातको सामान पत्रि पठाइयो । वादशाहलाई छुट्टै सौगन्त तयार पारेर त्यसपछि अम्बा दले लामा राजा लामा दिगर्चा लामा कस्यालका चार काजीहरूलाई पनि छुट्टाछुट्टै कोसेली पठाइयो, अरू तालोयै देवाहरूलाई पनि हातको शोभा सीसार दिने कलन थियो । कुतीसम्म मोटका मारादारहरू प्रतिनिधि-मण्डललाई लिन आए । मदीमा यो प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल लहासा पुग्यो । लहासामा केही दिन विश्राम गर्‍यो । साविक-बमोजिम मेटघाट सौगातको आदानप्रदान भए । अम्बाबाट दले लामाबाट कालाका लुगा दोचा बल्खु, चामल पीठो मेडा दस्तुर-माफिक प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलले पाए, १०० टाँक चाँदी पनि पाए । अम्बाले यता श्री ५ लाई पनि विभिन्न उपहारका वस्तुहरू बौद्ध सिम्भूमा चून लाउन

आउने चिटुङ्गाका हात पठाइ दिए । कुती केहंगमा नेपाली बेपारीसँग नून खेप्ने ढाक्रैसँग बेदस्तुरसँग जगात बढाई लिएको कुरा मिलि राखेको थिएन, सो कुरा पनि चीनी अम्बासँग काजी सरदारले जाहेर गरे । अम्बाले पनि कुती केहंगमा बसी काम गर्ने चारै जना फुम्पुनहरू लाई फिकाई सजाय गरिदिने र तिनका बदलामा अरू ४ जना इमानी जाँची बुफ्ती ठहराएर काम गर्न सक्ने फुम्पुनहरू खटाई पठाउने आश्वासन दिए । नेपाली नेवार नाइकेले सबै मुसलमान बेपारी पनि अदल गर्न पाउनुपर्छ भन्ने कुरामा खटपट गरेको बारेमा पनि कलफल भए । सो कुरामा साबिकमा जे छ सोही बमोजिम गर्ने गराउने भन्ने कुरा भए ।

केही दिन ल्हासामा विश्राम गरी प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल पेचिनतर्फ प्रस्थान गर्‍यो । साबिकमा चीनको अर्को साल नलाग्दै पेचिन वादशाहको दर्शन गर्न पुग्नु पर्दथ्यो । यस पालि बाटामा अलिक ढिलो भएकोले प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल तौक्वांग २८ साल लागेपछि अर्थात् ४ साल फागुनको १६ गतेमात्र पेचिन पुग्यो । त्यतिवेला वादशाह बाहिर पानीका फर्न बगेको पाहाडको ऊँचो दरबारमा बसेका थिए । काजी सरदारपगरीहरूले ४ दिनपछि १६ गते उही गंगर वादशाहको दर्शन गरे । वादशाहबाट श्री ५ लाई माँणिकको गजुर बक्स भयो । काजी सरदारहरूले पनि गजुर कल्की साबिक बमोजिम पाए । वादशाहका तर्फबाट पनि भोज खान पाए । नाँच तमासा खेल आतसवाजी देखाइए । अरू बस्ने खानेपिनेको सर्व बन्दोबस्त राम्रो थियो । केही दिन प्रतिनिधि मण्डल पेचिनमा बस्यो र वादशाहले श्री ५ लाई र आफूलाई दिएका प्रवाना र सरसाँगातको सामान लिई नेपालतर्फ फर्क्यो ।

जंगबहादुर प्रधान मन्त्री हुनु भन्दा पहिलेदेखि मोट सीमानाको कचक्कल नेपाल मोट बेपारमा हानि महरहेको थियो । यता मोटमा नेपाली मालको खपत गराउने चीनी तिब्बती मालको खरीदविक्री नेपालमा चलाउने ध्येयले जंगबहादुरले मोटमा एउटा सरकारी व्यापारी कोठी खोल्ने विचार गरेका थिए । प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल चीन जाँदा लगेको माल र उसले उहाँबाट किनी ल्याएका सामानबाट त धेरै लाभ थियो भन यसरी सरकारी बेपारी कोठी खोल्न पाए बेपारबाट धेरै नाफा हुने कुरा उनले देखेका थिए । नेवार नाइके बस्ने चलन हुँदै थियो । सरकारी कोठीका लागि अर्को मला मानिसलाई वकील बनाएर पठाउने विचार पनि गरेका थिए । यसको स्वीकृतिका लागि १६०५ आग्याढमा अम्बाकहाँ श्री ५ को भाकाबाट पत्र पठाइयो ।

सं. १६०४ चैत्र शुदि ६ का दिन पेचिनबाट प्रतिनिधि मण्डल प्रस्थान गरेको थियो । यताबाट लगेको अर्जि साँगात संपूर्त पेचिन पुन्याउनु र पेचिनबाट दिएको प्रवाना र चीजबीज संपूर्त यहाँ ल्याइ पुन्याउनु पनि यसको मुख्य कर्तव्य हुन्थ्यो । यसपालि पेचिनबाट हिँडी चौथो वासमा आइपुग्दा एक जना भरिया भारी चोरेर भागी बेपत्ता भयो । यो नयाँ घटनाले निकै खलल ल्याएको थियो, यसका बारेमा पछि विचार गरिनेछ ।

१८४ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, भोलम ८, नं. २ (जुन १९८१)

ताँक्काड्म २८ साल ५ महीनाको १७ गते यो प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल सङ्गान शहरमा आइ-पुग्यो र २८ गते त्यहाँबाट प्रस्थान गर्‍यो। २९ गते बिहानै सिनचिनशहरमा चीनी नेपाली पढेका दोभासे रामनारायणको आँलाको ज्वरो आउँदा-आउँदै सोही वेथाले मृत्यु भयो । नेपाली दस्तुर मुताविक अन्त्य-संस्कार भयो । २ जना नेपाली दुइ जना चीनी गरी जम्मा ४ जना दोभासे थिए । तिस्रुलसिंह दोभासे काठमाडौँबाट प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलसँगै गएका थिए । रामनारायण ५ वर्ष पहिले नेपालबाट गएर ल्हासामा चीनी भाषा पढ्दै थिए । गतसाल प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलका साथ उतैबाट पेचिन गएका २६ वर्षाको उमेरमै परलोक भए ।

ताँक्काड्म २८ साल ६ महीना २० गते प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल ल्हासा आइपुग्यो । केही दिन विश्राम गरेर १० महीना १३ गते नेपालतर्फ हिड्ने विचारमा थियो, सरदार अहिवर्ण वस्नेतको पनि बेथा बढ्दै गयो । लुङ्मारीदेखि नै उनी बेराम परेका थिए । ल्हासामा केही दिन बसेर आराम होला र काजीसँगै फर्केर जाउला भन्दै थिए । आँखा धिम्लो केहीले होइन । उनी पनि परलोक भए । हिड्ने वेलाका फेरि काजी सुरथसिंह पन्थ पनि 'आकाशचली' को वेथाले पीडित भए, वाक्य रह्यो, वैद्य घामी लाउँदा केही सीप लागेन । यो बेथाको उपाय केही नहुँदा १५ दिन रोगाएर काजी पनि मार्ग २७ गते परमधाम भए । होराहल्ले नेपाली रीतिले अन्त्य-संस्कार गरे ।

त्यसपछि ताँक्काड्म २८ साल ११ महीनाका ३ गते ल्हासाबाट बाँकी पगरीहरू प्रवाना सौगात लिई हिडे । अम्बाको अग्रिम सूचना-अनुसार यताबाट सरदार विष्णुप्रसाद उपाध्यायको नेतृत्वमा अर्को दल केरुंगसम्म अर्जो सौगात लिई आउने प्रतिनिधि-मण्डललाई वल्कन गयो । सं. १९०५ फागुनमा प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल काठमाडौँ आइपुग्यो । बालाजुदेखि सधैँका जस्तो वादशाहको प्रवाना होलेको बाक्स हात्तीमाथि राखी रिसल्ला घोडा आगेपीके गरी सिन्दूरजात्रा गर्दै नाँच तमासा देखाउँदै हनुमान्ढोका दरबारमा मित्र्याएर सिंहासनमा राखी दर्शन गरियो, पर्वांना पढेर सुनाइयो । वादशाहले दिएको सौगात कोसेली बुफेर प्रत्युत्तर अर्जो पठाइयो ।

सामान चोरी- सं. १९०४ चैत्रशुद्ध ६ आइतवारका दिन यो प्रतिनिधि मण्डल विदा भयो र पेचिनबाट प्रस्थान गर्‍यो । ३ वास हिडेपछि चौथो दिन बुधवार यो प्रतिनिधि मण्डलको वास ढगाटिस्यान् मन्ने गाउँमा पर्‍यो । सञ्चरले बोकेका मारी सञ्चरका मालिक लोयु मन्ने चीनियाँका जिम्मामा रहन्थे । मरियाले पिठ्यूमा बोकेका मारी मरिया नाइके तिस्रुलसिंहका जिम्मामा थिए, र उसकै ढेरामा जम्मा हुन्थे । ढगाटिस्यान्मा वास बसी जस्ताको तस्तै मारी बोकाएर बिहिवार बिहान त्यहाँबाट प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल हिड्यो । दिउँसो चिया साउन्केलसम्म पनि मारी सपुर्ति थिए । बेलुका पाउचिन्फुमा वास पर्‍यो । तिस्रुलसिंह जिम्माको मारी १ आएन। त्यस मारीमा वादशाहले श्री ५ लाई बक्स दिएको माल मध्ये फटिका मूर्ति २ दुइमुले गुलाफी मालाँझी १ वैठकवाला कटीरा २ पोलेझी

काचका बेला २ काजीले खरीद गरी लिएका सिंगेसनका कचौरा १५ थिए । मरिया नाइकेले चीनी दोभासेलाई सूचना गरे । मरियाले भारी नै गायबगन्यो, त्याखन । काजी सरदारले त्यहाँका चुन्दु अम्बासँग भेट मुलाकात गरे । वादशाहले श्री ५ लाई दिएको माल हरायो, यहाँ मिल्छ भने यहीं किन्छौं, मिल्दैन भने पेचिन ४ दिनको बाटो छ, तपाईंहरूका र हाफ्रा मानिस पेचिन पठाऔं, चाँदी हामी नै दिन्छौं; जस्ताको तस्तो माल खरीद गरी ल्याउँछु, तालोथेले पेचिनका भारादारलाई लेखी पठाइ दिए उनले साटोमा माल पठाई दिनेछु भनी काजीले तालोथे दोभासेहरूलाई मन्दा उनले तपाईंहरूले चिन्ता गर्नु पर्दैन, हामी घोडा कुदार् मानिस पठाउँछौं, ढाँटिस्यान्का फाफुनलाई पनि लेखी पठाउँछौं । माल फेला पारी पठाइ दिनेछौं, अहिले हाफ्रा भारादार पनि छैनन् भनेकाले प्रतिनिधि मण्डल पाउचिन्फुबाट हिड्यो । ढाँटिस्यान्मा वास पन्यो । भारी खोज-तलास गर्न गएका सिपाहीले मरिया नभेटेको र भारी नआएको खबर पनि ल्याए । त्यहाँ मुकाम गर्न असजिलो हुँदा त्यहाँबाट हिडी घुण्डुस्यान्मा वासमा आए । त्यही १ दिन मुकाम गरी सारा भारी खोली जाँची तालोथे दोभासेहरूलाई हराएका मालको बीजक देखाई लेखाई प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल हिड्यो । माल खोज-तलास गर्नेछौं सबैतिर सूचना गर्छौं पाइनेछ भनी तालोथेले भने । ठिन्दफुसम्म आउँदा पनि माल भेटिएको थिएन र काजी सरदारले चुन्दुलाई पनि सो कुरा अवगत गराए । चुन्दुले काजीहरूलाई म लेखि पठाउँछु मात्र भने। सँगै आउने सेतालोथे के तालोथेसँग साफ रिसाएछन् र उनका गजुर कल्कीसमेत खोसि दिएछन् । तपाईंहरूले चुन्दुलाई यो कुरा सुनाउँदा हाफ्रो वेहज्जत भयो, हराएका मालको मोल चाँदी बुझि दिनुहोस् भनी तालोथेले खुरन्दार गर्न लागे । काजीहरूले चाँदी बुझ्न मानेनन्, मालको मालै पार हुन्छ भनेर । सेतालोथे ठिन्दफुबाट यता आउँदा पनि आएनन् । लहासा आइपुगेपछि काजी सरदारले सो पछिले हराएको र पछि बाटामा दफे दफे हराएको सबै मालको तपसील खोली अम्बालाई दिए । काजी सरदार दुवै मरेपछि तालोथेले पठाएको मालको मोल चाँदी बुझि देऊ, भनी दोभासेले मन्न आयो, पगरीहरूले बुझ्न मानेनन् । लहासामा एक दोभासे बस्यो, अर्को पगरीका साथ आयो । बाटामा तालोथेले पठाएको चाँदी बुझि देऊ भनी बारंबार फेला गर्न लागेको हुँदा केहँगमा आइपुगेपछि भै गयो त चाँदी बुझेर श्री ५ मा जाहेर गर्छौं, जस्तो हुकुम हुन्छ सोही माफिक गरौंला भनी २ घोडे चाँदी मालको मोलबापत पगरीले बुझी ल्याए। यहाँ नेपाल सरकारले हराएको मालको मोल तिर्नु उचित हुँदैन भनी सो चाँदी फर्काई पठाइ दियो। अम्बाले पनि गोरखामाणा जान्ने पेचिनको नेपाली दफ्दरमा बस्ने दोभासे लिकोस्यानका हात सो चाँदी जसको हो उसैलाई दिनु भनी पठाइ दिए, यसरी बाटामा माल चोरिनु राम्रो कुरा होइन । यस्तै हाफ्रो पुरानो सम्बन्धमा नराम्रो फर्न जाने हुँदा अब उप्रान्त पेचिन जाने प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलको सुरक्षा र व्यवस्थाका लागि मोटको हलाका तार्चिन्देउसम्म राम्रो प्रबन्ध गरिने छ, अखल जानिफकार भारादारसाथ पठाइने पनि छ भनी आश्वासन दिएर

१८६ सि.एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ८, नं. २ (जुन १९८१)

पत्र लेखी पठाइयो । यसपालि एउटा विशेष कुरा के भो भने, सं. १९०५ फागुन शुदि १३ रोज ४ मा वादशाहले दिई पठाएको माणिकको गजुर अरु मालसामान बुफेर श्री ५ बाट पठाइएको प्रत्युत्तरको अर्जीमा माल हराएको त्यसको बदलामा २ घोडे चाँदी पठाइ दिएको र सो चाँदी नबुझी फिर्ता गरेको काजी सरदार भएको यी सबै कुरा लेखिएका थिए । लहासा पुगेपछि अम्बाहल्ले हेर्दा सो कुरा लेख्नु अयोग्य जानी साविक वमोजिमको व्यहोराको मएन मनी अर्जी फिर्ता पठाइयो र यताबाट फेरि अर्को अर्जी लेखी दस्तुर व्यहोरा मिलाएर पठाइयो । यो कुरा पनि नौलो चाहिँ थिएन, भूमिसेन थापाका पालामा पनि अर्जी फिर्ता आएको थियो । पहिले पहिले वादशाहलाई लेख्ने व्यहोरा उतैबाट मसौदा गरेर पनि पठाइन्थ्यो काजी सरदार मर्नु पनि दैवागत कुरा भयो । यो पालि यस्तो भयो, यसको ५ वर्षपछि गएको प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलका पनि काजी सरदार बाटैमा परलोक भएका थिए ।

उपसंहार:-

जंगबहादुरका पालाका केही मूलपत्रहरू मैले प्रमाण भागमा दिएको छु । तिनको अध्ययन गर्दा यो माथिको विवरणबाट पनि जंगबहादुरले फिरंगीसंग मिलेर पेचिनसंगको सम्बन्ध विच्छेद गरेर सं. १९०४ मा प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल पेचिन पठाएनन् भन्ने कुरा कल्पित ठहरिन्छ । जंगबहादुरले फर्न चीनसंग सम्बन्ध मजबूत पार्न सोजेको स्पष्ट छ । केवल उनले पेचिनबाट धनद्रव्य वा फौज ल्याएर फिरंगीसंग लडेर गुमेका प्रदेश फिर्ता लिने सपना चाहिँ देखेनन् । बरु दश हजार प्रष्टन लिएर आफ्नै चीनमा उपस्थित भएर एक लाख चीनी विद्रोही दबाउन हिम्मत राखेर श्री ५ द्वारा अर्जी पठाएका थिए । मलै, वादशाहबाट यो अर्जीमा लेखे-मुता-विक जंगबहादुर र उनका नेपाली फौजलाई दुःख दिने कुरा भएन, तिमीहरूलाई ५ वर्षमा प्रतिनिधि-मण्डलको सानो दल पठाउन त त्यत्रो हैरान छ, अफ त्यत्रो फौज ल्याउन तक्लीफ होला प्रतिकूल हावापानी विकट घाटजधोर कष्ट होला भनी मेहेरै राखियो । सं. १९१४ मा भारतमा अंग्रेजविरुद्ध विद्रोह उठ्यो, पेचिनमा पठाए जस्तै ब्रिटिश सरकारलाई सहयोग दिने हक्का व्यक्त गरी पत्र पठाइयो । उसले त्यसको आवश्यक महशूस गर्‍यो । जंगबहादुर शौरखाली फौज लिएर आफ्नै भारतीय भूमिमा उत्रे र विद्रोहीलाई दबाएर ब्रिटिशको विश्वास प्राप्त गरे । आफ्ना गुमेका देश फिर्ता गर्ने माग पेश गरेर केही मात्रामा भए पनि आफ्ना माग पुरा पारे । उता १० हजार नेपाली फौज लिएर आफ्नै गृह विद्रोह दवाई वादशाहको खेरेखवाही गरेबापत वादशाहबाट स्यावासी पाएका जंगबहादुरले सोही फौजले नेपाली रैतीमा अत्याचार गरेबापत मोटोमा आक्रमण गरेर आफ्नो टेक कायम राखे, नेपालको मानप्रतिष्ठा पनि कायम गरे । नेपालीको यो प्रतिष्ठा मोटोमा एक शय वर्षसम्म कायम नै रह्यो ।

प्रमाणको लागि केही मूलपत्रहरू -

जुवाफ

तौक्काडो २६ साल पाँच महीनाका दिन २१ जाँदा लेषियाको आफुहरूको पत्र माघ महिनाका दिन १६ जाँदा आइपुग्यो, अर्थ मालुम भयो, आफुका राज्यबाट केरुडोमा पठायाका काजी मोटको हाजोय लावाडो गोनवोसंग वसी सोधि माहको होरा स्याम कृष्ण मन्याको कामको बिहोरामा यो बिहोरा यसी गरि छिन्यू बुफिवकस्या जावस् भनि विंति गरि पठायाका अर्थ र मैले यसो विचार गरि हेर्दा त्यो हाजोयेहल्ले मतो गरि यो विस्तार रीतमा मित्दो रहेह, गोष्ठाका नेवारहरू पनि षुसि मयाकुन् दोहरो कागज लेषि आयाकुन्, त्यो माहको चोरियाको माल सबै मारादारहल्ले सट्टा दिमाहल्ले लियेह, माहले पात्रा भनि मुचुल्का लेषिदियेह, परंतु यसवापतमा केहि कुरा हुन्या हैन, तसर्थ काजी केरुडोमा रहेनकुन् र ढिलो हुनजाला भनि भन्दा यसो गरि छिनु हुँह चाडोमान्नु काम गर्नु मन्या विस्तार लेषानु मयाका अर्थ बढियालेषि आयेह, येहि विस्तार हाभ्रा केरुडोमा पठायाका काजी सरदार आह हाभ्रा हजूरमा विन्ति गन्या, माहको होरा स्यामकृष्ण मन्याको व्यहो- रामा मुख्य चोर अगावै आफै मन्यापक्षि यसको मतियार पासांलाई जोगन्या सासना मै केहंगफुगावाट निकाला मै सदा कैयदमा राषि माहको चोरियाका मालको विगी मराह छिन्या काम बहुत बढिया भयेह, यस कुरामा जस्ताको तस्तो निसाफ भयो भनि हाभ्रा केरुडोमा रहन्या नेवार महाजन सबैजना षुसि राजि मयाका कुन् वाकि -- का हजूरमा पाँच वर्षाको मामुली सौगात चह्राउन आउन्या वेला भयो मामुली वमोजिम सबै कुराको ताकिति गर्नु मन्या ७।८ महिना अघि आफुहरूबाट अर्ति सिद्धया लेषि आउथ्यो यस पटक केहि लेषिनआउदा लेषी आउला मन्या पाठले रह्याका छिन्यू आजसम्म केहि लेषी नआउदा र दिन थोरै रहन जाँदा मूलिकन हो कि कसो भयेर आयेन मन्या हाभ्रा मनमा संदेह भयो र विंति गरि पठायाको हो अवर सम्बत् १६०४ सालका असार मैन्हामा --- का हजूरमा अर्जि सौगात ली काजि सदारहल्लाई आहाबाट विदा गरि पठाउनु पन्या पाँच वर्षाको मामुलीको अब पाँच महिना बाकि ह पाँच मैन्हा पुग्यापक्षि सदाका रीत वमोजिम काजि सदारहल्लाई षाटाह पठाउन्या काम गरौला, यस कुराको अर्ति सिद्धा आफुहरूबाट लेषी आया बढिया होला इति सम्बत् १६०३ साल फागुन वदि ४ रोज ५ मुकाम कान्तिपुर सुभम् --- ।

जुवाप्

तौक्काडू २७ सालका फागुन महिनाका दिन १८ जांदा लेणीयाको आफुहरूको पत्र चैत्र महिनाका दिन ---- जांदा आहपुग्यो अर्थ मालुम मयो, आफुले सौगात चहाउंदा मुष् पेटले यकत्व मै मनको भाव गरि यो ठुलो दस्तुर हो, हामि ताठिनले सदा समफ्याकै हू कसो गरि मुलौला मन्या र काम कुरा गर्नु पन्यामा पनि उर्दि पाया मात्र, काम गह्रौंकी यसो हेर्दा आफु येक मुलुकका राजा हौ, मभदा पनि आफु चतुर क्लिदाण हौ आफुलाई को ठुलो मेहेर मयाको हो, काम कुरा गर्दा, चित्ले विस्तार बुझि गन्या देष्णि, तव आफुले भाव गन्याको, जाहेर होला, हामि ताठिनले आउनु मनि, चिठि पठाया देष्णि.आफुले मनका भावसंग गन्याको व्यर्थ हो.तसर्थ हामि ताठिन्.अधिका जस्तो गरि. काम गर्दैनौ.आज आफुबाट लेष्णि आयाको मन्या ताहाको अर्ति सिद्धा आया यसो हेर्दा आफु पिछा परि मानि.रह्याको देष्णता.हामि णुसि हर्ष मभ्यु.आफु वाड्बाट रीत वमोजिम जांची.हानि दस्तुर जान्या.मलामानीस काजीहरू ठिक वेलामा लहासामा आउनु. हामि ताठिन् मार्फत् गरौला अधिका रीत वमोजिम् सौगात काजीहरूको नाम नमेसि अगावै लेष्णि पठाउनु र याहावाट लिन आउन्या मानिस णटाउंला.याहावाट णटायाका ह्राजोम लावागौवु लहासा आउदा.काजि सुरथसिं पथ र सदर् रणगंज कार्किहले हिंताठिन् लाई चहायाका णुकुरि १ मुज्याली १ मनका भावसंग चहायाको रहेहू म हिंताठिन् कैले चहायाका पनि लिन्न.फिराह पठायाको हू.मैले लियाको बरोवर मयो.म हिंताठिन्ले वक्सी पठायाको कुरि २ धैली जोडा २ आफुबाट काजी सदर्लाई दिनु होला मनि लेष्नु मयाका अर्थ.हामि ताठिन्ले आउनु मनि चिठी पठायादेष्णि आफुले मनका भावसंग गन्याको व्यर्थ हो.मन्या विस्तार.सो अर्ति सिद्धालेष्णि आउदा.हाम्रा मनमा बहुत णुसि हर्ष मयो.अब देष्णि आफुहरूकै अर्ति सिद्धा वमोजिम गरौला अधिका रित वमोजिम जांची हानि दस्तुर जान्या मलामानिस्.ठिक वेलामा लहासामा आउनु मन्या र सौगात काजीहरूको नाम नमेसी. अगावै लेष्णि पठाउनु मनी अर्ति सिद्धा आयाका कुरालाई ठाढा देस मध्येसबाट मगाउन्या चिज मगाह.हाम्रा मुलुकमा मयाको चिज तयार गरि राष्याको हू.असामहिनामा याहाबाट हिडाह अधिका रीत वमोजिम ताहा पुगन्या गरि विदा गरौला.पैचीन पुगी..... का दर्सन. दहवत्.गर्न जान्या अधिका रीत वमोजिम.काजि सदर् णदर्.मला मानीसहरूको नाम नमेसी. फर्द लेष्णि.सुसायतमा.याहाबाट हिडहन् मनि.अगावै आफुहरू केउ पठाउला मानिस बेस बेस अधिकै रीत वमोजिम हुन्.केहू.जान्या काजी सदर्ले आफुहरूलाई चहाह पठायाको णुकुरि १ मुज्याली १ लिन्या दस्तुर कैन मनि, फिर्ता गरि, पठाउनु मयाको.आहपुग्यो.आफुबाट पठाउनु मयाको कुरि २ धैली जोडा २ समेत काजी सदर्लाई सौपि दिन्या काम गरियो. याहाका अर्छलाई.....का हजूरमा हाम्रा बोल विन्तिको बाटो अधि पनि लहा(सा) बस्न्या अम्बाहरू हुन्.आज पनि आफुहरू हुनु हुहू.....का हजूरमा हामि सरिया हुन्या काम आफु-हरूकै दयाले हुन्या हू इति सम्वत् १९०३ साल चैत्र सुदि १३ रोज ७ शुभम्.....

श्री ५ वादशाहका हजूरमा

श्री ५ सर्कारबाट अर्जि ।

उप्रान्त.....का मेहरवानगीले रजाजीको काजकाम आजसम्म श्री बुबाज्यूले गर्नु हुन्थ्यो. यो गयाको साल कार्तिक महिनामा हामीहरूको श्री काशि मन्याको बढो तिर्थ हो. यो तिर्थ गर्नाको अधिदेशी मेरा चिन्तमा थियो, तिमि बालण हुनाले आजसम्म उसै रहन गयो. अबर तिमि उमेरमा पनि ठुला भर्था. राजकाज सबै काम कुराको सलतनत् गर्न समर्थ भर्था. म तिर्थबाट चाडै फिर्ताला म तिर्थबाट नआउँजी मेरा मर मुलुकको राजकाज गर्नु मनि मलाई हुकुम दि सम्बत् १८०३ साल कार्तिक महिनाका दिन २६ जांदाको सायेत गरि चाडै माघ महिनामा फिल्ला मनि श्री काशी तिर्थ गर्नालाई जानु भयोथ्यो. सम्बत् १८०४ साल जेठ महिना सम्ममा पनि बिराना मुलुक मध्येसमा बस्नु मै याहा नेपालमा आउनु भयेन. बाहिर बस्नु मै मेरा ज्येष्ठ पुत्र श्री महाराजाधिराजका गाथ. गादिको सोफो गर मन्या हाम्रा बजीर फौजका नाउमा हुकुमको लालमोहर आउदा मेरो मनसुवा मन्या श्री बुबाज्यूको ज्यू कूँद गादिमा बस्न मन थियेन. हजुरको सोफो गर्नु मन्या हामि सबै बजीर फौज उमरावहरूका नाउमा हुकुमको लालमोहर आयापछि हजुरले गादिमा नबसि हुँदैन. गादिमा बस्नु पर्छ मनि हाम्रा यांहाका बजीर मर-भारादार फौज उमराव दुनिया प्रजा प्राणिहरू सबैले बिन्ति गर्दा सम्बत् १८०४ साल प्रथमज्येष्ठ वदि १३ रोज ४ का दिन सुसायेतमा श्री बुबाज्यूका गादिमा बस्यां राज्याभिषेक भयो. श्री बुबाज्यूबाट.....को टहल जस्तातरहसंग हुन्थ्यो तेस्तै तरहसंग मुणपेट एकत्व गरि हात जोरि.....का टहलमा हाजीर हुला. म मन्या बालण कु. जान्या नजान्या ठाउमा दामा माफ होला श्री सुरेन्द्र विक्रम साह मेरो सेवक हो मनि दया करुणासंग बारंबार अर्ति उपदेस बक्सदै रह्या मेरो उद्धार हुन्या क.इति सम्बत् १८०४ साल मिति द्वितिय ज्येष्ठ सुदि १३ रोज ७ सुभम्..... पत्रचिन्ह तास थान १

५ वर्षाको मामुली श्री ५ वादशाहको हजूरमा

अर्जि चह्राहपठायाको ।

अर्जि

उप्रान्त आका(श) समान.....का हजूरमा अर्जि सौगात चह्राह दर्सन डंडवत गर्न काजि मारा पठाउन्त्या वर्षा यहि हो हाम्रा देश पाहाडमा हुन्त्या चिज यांहा णोजी यांहा नहुन्त्या टाढा देसबाट फिकाउनु पर्न्या चीज मध्येसबाट फिकाह मनका भावले अधिका रीत वमो-जिम सबथोक तयार गरि लहासा बसन्त्या अम्बाहरूका अर्ति-सिद्धा माफिक पैचिन.....का हजूरमा पुगि अर्जि सौगात चह्राह दर्सन डंडवत गरि आउनु मनि अह्राह काजी सुरतसि पथ सर्दार अहिवर्ण बसन्त्यात सर्दार सुवेदार दोमास्या अरु चाहिया माफिक भलामानिसलाई आहाबाट विदा गरि पठाउनु हाम्रा दुष्ण दर्दको बोलवित्ति गर्न्या बाटो अधि पनि लहासा बसन्त्या अम्बाहरू हुन्. आज पनि पेचीन देणी टाढा मयाको पाहाड मुलुक सानु राज्यमा बसन्त्या दस्तुर नजान्या हामि बालणलाई पन्याका दुष्णदर्दको बोल वित्ति लहासाका अम्बाहरूबाट.....का हजूरमा जाहेर होला हाम्रा पुर्णहरू पनि.....का सरन पिछा परि मानि रह्याका हुन् हामी पनि मुष्णपेटले एकत्व मै मानि.....का सरण पिछामा परि रह्याका हौं. टाढा मुलुकमा बसि टहल गर्न्या म बालण माथि गोर्णा मन्याको मेरो सेवक हो मनि.....बाट मेहरवानगीको नजर बक्सनु मया पन्याको दुष्ण कुटला पछि पर्यत जुग जुग सम्म सरिया रहि टहल गरौला इति सम्बत् १६०४ साल मिति द्वि. जेष्ठ सुदि १३ रोज २ सुभम्.....

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लहासाका अम्बा २ बाट आयाको

उप्रान्त अस्ति गादिमा राज गन्या मनी बिन्ति गरि पठायाको चिठि र सौगातसमेत अगावै तयार गरी राण्याको छ जाँचि षटायाको काजिहू आषाढ मन्हाका १४ दिन जाँदा विदा गरि कुतिको बाटो लहासा पुग्न्या काम गरौला मन्याको र आफुले बिन्ती गन्याको बुबाज्यूका गादिमा राज गन्या र बुबाज्यू कासिबाट फीर्नु मयेन बाहिरबाट राज्येमा चिठि आउदा गादी बक्सी पर मुलुकको काजकाम गर्नु मंदा नगरि मयन जेष्ट वदि १३ का दिन गादीमा बस्यां कामकाज गह्ला फेरि.....का हजुरमा जाहेर हुन्या आफु र अम्बाहल्लै मेहेर दयाले हुन्याछ मंदा हामि ताठिनले विचार गर्दा सौगात चढाउदा एकत्वमै आफु गादिमा बस्याको र पिछा परि रह्याको हामी ताठि २ ले षटायाका लिन आउ- न्या मारदार कैले आफुका राज्येका काजिहूआहा पुगि सौगातको अर्जि चढाइ हामी ताठिन २ ले हेरौला र मिल्दो रहेछ मन्या चाँडो चाँडो हामि मार्फत गरौला बाँकि जेष्ट पुत्र आफुलाई गादि वकस्यापछि बुबाज्यूको हुकुम मानि काम गर्नु बुझि आफुको राज्येले पिछा परि मानि रह्याका हौं आफुले पनि यकचित्त एक मन गरी पिछा परि रहनु.हामि ताठिनले मार्फत गरि बिन्ती गन्या देषि.....बाट सुनु मया ठुलो षुसि मै हर्ष मयो आफुले चिठिमा लेष्याको काजिहू लहासा पुगि आफु छेउ दुष दद मुष जमानि विस्तार बिन्ती गरि अर्ती सिद्धा वचन लि हामि ताठिन याहाँ आइ विचार गर्दा आफुका बुबाज्यूले बारंबार बिन्ती गर्दा याँहाबाट विस्तार लेषि पठायाको चिठि सबै हुन्यै छन्.आफुले अघि सबै बुझ्याकै होला आजकाल फेरि मुषजमान दुष दद बिन्ती गर्न मन्या अर्थ मिल्दो छ नमिल्दो हामिलाई याद छैन सौगात चढाउनु र गादिमा राज गन्याको विस्तार हामि ताठिनले सर्व्वथामार्फत बिन्ती गर्ण सकियन हामि ताठिन र आफुबाडो ता मंत्री जस्ता हौं आफुले मन्याको मिल्दो कुरा मया हामि र आफु मंत्रि र मित्र जस्ता हुन् हामि ताठिन क्यान मार्फत बिन्ति नगरौला एसो मन्या नमिल्दो कुरा मया हामि ताठिनलाई पनि जस कृति नमै नास्ति अर्काका कुराको जिम्मा लिया आफ्नै जेस कृति नमै नास हुँछ.यो विस्तार २ आफुले बुझनु होला तसर्थ यो चिठि पठायाको हो आफुको कुशल दाम चाहि- न्छ हति तौववाडो २७ सालका जेष्ट मन्हाका दिन २५ जाँदा मुकाम लहासायाम शुभम्...

...

ल्हासा अम्बा २ ले पठायाको

उग्रान्त अस्ति आफुवाङ्बाट २ फ्लट पठायाको चिठि आहा आइपुग्यो हेरि विस्तार बुझ्यो आफुवाङ्बाट पैचिन जान्या काजिहल्लाई पठाई दियाका चिठिमा सेतो कपडाको पोका २ पनि हामि ताठिनले कागज थपि कुलुप मारि आहाबाट स्थान मन्याको सहर श्री चुं थुं बुधाङ् अम्बाकेउ पठाई दिनुं काजिहल्ले जांचि लिनु होला बांकि आफुवाङ्ले बिंति गन्याका चिठिमा मन्या केहं र कुति २ साधमा मोतको फुपुले जगात लियाको रित वमोजिम नमानि बढता डेरै लिंछन् मनि विस्तार लेष्याको रहेछ यसो मया पैचिन् जान्या काजि सुरथसिं पेथहरू ल्हासामा पुग्न्या बिन्तिकै बिंति गन्याका दिन हामि ताठिनले चिठि लेषि पठायाको छ केहं र कुति २ साधमा बस्न्या फुपुहल्लाई ल्हासामा फि कि सास्ति सासना गरौला मनि राष्याको छ. यै काम गरि सक्यापछि आफुवाङ्लाई चिठि लेषि पठाउला फेर ल्हासामा बेपार गन्या कस्मेरि मुसलमानको कामकाज आफुवाङ्को नायक ले गर्नु पर्न्या हो मनि चिन जान्या काजिहरू फर्कि आहा आइपुग्या पछि यो काम गरियेला बांकि नायक राम सुन्दर आहा नाइक्या गरि बस्याको डेरै वर्ष मयो मनि नेपालमा फिकायाको रहेछ यो कुरा बढिया लेषनुभयाको रहेछ यो साल माघ महिनाका दिन ५ जांदा आफुवाङ्ले बिंति गन्याका चिठिमा मन्या श्रीजेठा रानिलाई पुत्र जनम्या पाऌु मनि हामि ताठिन पनि बडा खुसि हर्ष भऌु.....का हजुरमा बिंतिको अर्जि पठाउला अघि पछिको कुरा पनि सबै विस्तार लेषि आफुवाङ्लाई चिठि पठाई दिउला. बुझ्नु होला, फेर आफुवाङ्को खुसिनामाको बेस गरि बढिया होला तसर्थ यो चिठि पठायाको हो आफुवाङ्को कुसलदाम चाहिँछ हति तौक्काङ् २७ सालका १२ मन्हाका दिन १२ जांदा ल्हासायाम सुम्.....।

अम्बाके यांहाबाट मात्र गयाको

अम्बाके

उप्रान्त ताहा लहासामा हाप्रा आहाका नेवार महाजनहरूका बंद बेपारका निमित्त बत्तिस-
कोठि अधीदेष्णि रह्याका हुन्.सो आफुहरूलाई जाहेरै छ.हैन बत्तिसकोठिमध्ये येक कोठी
बंद बेपारका निमित्त हाप्रा सर्कारका तरफबाट येक भला आदमी पठाई ताहां लहासामा
येक कोठी रहन गया ताहां आफुहरूलाई चाह भयाको हाप्रा आहाको चिज ताहां आफुहरू-
लाई रआहा हामिलाई चाहिन्या ताहांको चिज पुन्याउदै रह्ला मन्या पाठले नेवार
महाजन्बाहिकु येक भला आदमी महाजनलाई ठेगाना गरि राष्याको छ.२।४ महिनापछि
यांहाबाट पठाउन्या हौ तस्निमित्त अगावै यो कुरा आफुहरूकैउ बिंति गरि पठायाको
हो, येस कुरामा हामिमाथी दया राषी सिद्धा अर्ति लेष्णि आया बढिया होला.औ
पेचिन जान्या काजी सदर्कारका नाउको सेता कपडाले मोह्याको चिठिको पोका १ पठायाको
छ दया राषी यो चिठि काजिहरूकैउ पुगन्या पाठ गरि दिनु भया बढिया होला.हाप्रा
बोल बिन्तिको बाटो अधी पनि लहासा बस्या अम्बाहरू हुन् आज पनि आफुहरू हुनुहुँछ
इति सं.१६०५ सा.आषाढ वदि ६ रोज शुभम्.....

जुवाप

तोकवाडो २८ साल ५ महिनाका दिन ७ जाँदा लेण्याको आफुहरूको पत्र आशाढ महिनाका दिन १७ जाँदा आहपुग्यो, अर्थ मालुम भयो, उप्रान्त तोकवाडो २८ सालका ४ महिनाका १६ जाँदा सठुवा सहर मन्याको श्रीचुं उधाडो छिअम्बाबाट पठाई दियाको चिठि लहासा आहपुग्यो चिठिमा लेण्याको येस पटक चिन जान्या काजीहरू दिलो मै, फागुन महिनाका १६ दिन जादा पैचिनमा आहपुग्या हुकुम मै फागुनका १६ दिनमा वादशाह सवारिमा वैशा(ढा)उनु हुंदा काजीहरू ले वादशाहको दर्शन दंडवत् गन्यापछि अधिका रीतसित काजी सदाँर दुवै जनालाई अगलो पर्वतमा पानी णोला बग्याका ठाउमा बसाइ भोज णुवाइ अधिका रीतसंग जो भग्नाको कामकाज गरि फागुन महिनाका १६ दिनमा वादशाह का हुकुम मै गोर्णा वाडोलाई नयाँ गादिमा राज गर्नु हुंदा मान बक्साको मानिकको गजूर लाउनुहुँक काजी सदाँर दुवै जनालाई गजूर र कल्की वक्स्याको क मन्या रहेक, आफु वाडोले आज उप्रान्त, मानिकको गजूर लाउनुहुँक, आफु वाडोले येक चित्त येक मन गरि वादशाह को दया मेहर समझि अधिमंदा सरण पिछा परि रह्याका हौं, आफु वाडोका काजीहरू र साध सिवानाका राजासंग मिली जुली रहनु, प्रजाप्राणिलाई माया गरि सुण आनन्द दि राणनु, आफु वाडोले मनको भाव गरि वादशाह का हजूरमा दया मेहर भयो मनि बिन्ति गरि अर्जी लेषी तासाँमा हाली पठाउनु, हामि ताठिनमार्फत गरि वादशाह का हजूरमा चढाई पठाउला मनि लेषनु मयाका अर्थ बढिया लेषि आयेक पैचिन जान्या काजी सदाँरहरूबाटामा आरामसंग पैचिन पुगी वादशाह को दर्शन दंडवत गरि अधिका रीतवमोजिम भोज णुवाइ काजी सदाँरलाई मान बक्स्याको गजूर कल्की पायाको र हामिलाई नयाँ गादिमा राज गर्दा वादशाह बाट मान बक्स्याको मानिकको गजूर लाउनुहुँक मन्या यो णवर आफुहरूबाट लेषि आउदा हामिलाई वादशाह बाट ठुलो मेहर भयेक, मन्या हाम्रा मनमा बहुतै हर्ष भयो वादशाह बाट मानवक्स्याका गजूर लगाई वादशाह का हजूरमा दया मेहर भयो मन्या व्यहोराको अर्जी लेषी आफुहरूमार्फत् चढाइ पठाउला आफुहरूका अर्ति शिदा वमोजीम पर्जा प्राणिलाई पनि माया गरि सुण आनन्द दी राण्याको क आफ्ना मंत्री र साध सिवानाका राजाहरूसंग पनि मिली जुली रह्याका हौं, हाम्रा बोल बितिको बाटो अधि पनि लहासा बस्न्या अम्बाहरू हुन् आज पनि आफुहरू हुनुहुँक इति सम्क्त् १६०५ साल मिति आशाढ सुदि ४ रोज ३ शुभम्.....

लहासा अम्बा १ को पठायाको

उप्रान्त हामि ताठिनुलाई तौक्काड् २८ सालका ८ मैनहाका दिन २७ जाँदा श्री सथ्वाड्
चुटुं वुठाड् श्रीहि अम्बाबाट पठायाको चिठि आहा लहासा आइपुग्यो चिठिमा मन्या श्री
सथ्वाड् ० डम्नान्ठासु मन्याको नाम् टाड् चिसिनुले यो चिठिमा विचार गर्दा सिचिनुस्यान्
सहरमा बस्याका टिस्यान् मन्याको यस्को नाम हुइ ठीन् सिउले विन्ति गन्याको अर्जि चहा-
याको हो तौक्काड् २८ सालका ५ मैनहाका दिन ३० जाँदा गोर्णको चिनिआको दोमास्या
मा सिज्यून् र लिकोस्याङ्गहले बिंति गन्याको अर्जिमा चिनिआ अद्वार पहन्या गोर्णा सिद्धा
रामनारान्को उमेर २६ वर्ष भयो चिनजाइफर्कि आउदा औलाका बेथा लागिन् र उपाय
केहि नलागदा यो ५ मैनहाका दिन २६ मा सिन् सहरमा पुग्या र मोली सवेरै रामनारान्
मन्या र उत्ति बिचकै सेतो कपडाले बाँधी गोर्णाका दस्तुर गरि संस्कार गन्याका हो भनी
लेणी रहेक हामि ताठिनुले विचार गर्दा यो रामनारान् अघि तौक्काड् २३ सालमा अघि
आफु वाङ्का बुबाज्यूले षाटार्ह पठायाको लहासा आइ सिद्धा चिनिआ अद्वार कुरा सिकना-
कन पोरका सालमा चिन जान्या काजीहरूसंग षाटार्ह अर्जि साँगात पुन्याउन गयाको हो.
अब पैचिनबाट फर्कि आउदा रामनारान् मन्या र काजिहरूसंग हुंदा गोर्णाको दस्तुर गरि
सक्यो, अरु केहि काम रहेन कृतसर्थ यो चिठि पठायाको हो, आफु वाङ्काको कुशल दाम
चाहिँक हति तौक्काड् २८ सालका ६ मैनहाका दिन ४ जाँदा लहासा थामुन शुभम्.....

(फट्केमा) चिनिआ अद्वार फर्ह जान्या रामनारान् मन्याको षवर ।

ल्हासा अम्बा १ ले पठायाको

उप्रान्त तौक्काड् २८ सालका ६ महिनाका दिन ४ जांदा आफु वाड्०ले बिन्ति गरि पठायाका २ चिठि आहा ल्हासा आइपुग्यो चिठिमा मन्या षटाइ पठायाको कामकाज जान्या बेस गरि भला मानिसहल्लाई केल्ड् साध सिवानामा वादशाह का पर्माना बक्सीस दियाको पठाइ लिन आउनु, फेरि उनै काजि सुरसिं पथहल्ले अघि आफुवाड्०लाई बिन्ति गरि पठायाको चिठि चहाइ सेतो कपडाको पोका २ जाचि लिनु मयो होला अब आफु वाड्०ले पठाइ दियाको सेतो कपडाको पोको १ चिन जान्या काजीहल्लाई मार्फत दिनु होला भनि लेखिरहेक, हामि ताठिनुले विचार गर्दा उन काजीहरू यो ६ मन्हाका २० दिनमा आहा ल्हासा ठिक आइ पुग्यापछि आफुवाड्०ले पठायाको चिठि काजिहल्लाई दिउला जाचि लिनु होला बाँकी काजीहरू थकाइ मारि केहि दिन आहा बसाई वादशाहका इनाम बक्स्यको चीजबीज मारि पोका बेस गरि बनाइ बढिया गरि मोज षुवाइ बक्सीस दी पछिसम्म बिर्तिकै चिनिआ मारादार र भोटका मारादारहल्लाई षटाइ केल्ड् साध सिवानामा पुन्याउन पठाउला हामि ताठिनुले बक्सीस दियाको आफु वाड्० र कामकाज गन्या काजिहल्लाई चिजविज दि उनि काजीहरू ल्हासा आइ पुग्दा हातमा सौपी दी पठाउला आहाबाट फर्की आउदा विस्तार अहाइ सिकाइ दी पठायाको हो फेर जो मयाको हामि ताठिनले पोरका सालमा पोतलाबाट षटायाका नेपाल बुद्धमा चुन लाउन आउन्या चिटुड् कुठिन् बसि मन्याको हस्ते सौपि पठायाको बक्सीस कोचिन् चिजविज आफुवाड्०ले जाचि लिनु पायो कि पायेनन्. अब उनि चिटुड् आहा ल्हासामा फर्की आइ-पुग्दा आफुवाड्०को चिठि केहि लेष्याको नहुदा त्यो चिजविज आफु वाड्०ले पायोकि पायेन भनि अहोविधि-विस्तार हामि ताठिनुले विचार गर्हु तसर्थ यो चिठि पठायाको हो, आफु वाड्०को कुशल दाम चाहिँक हति तौक्काड् २८ सालका ६ महिनाका दिन १३ जांदा ल्हासा यामन शुम्.....

ल्हासाका अम्बा २ ले पठायाको

उप्रान्त आफुवाडोले पोरका सालमा षटायाको काजी सुरतसि पथहल्ले पैचिन जाई.....
 का दर्शन दण्डवत् गरि काम सक्यो र फकाई अब याँहा ल्हासा आइ पुग्यो हामि ताठिन्
 २ छेउ दर्शन गरि विस्तार कुरा मन्या यसपल्ट पैचिन गया र.....का दर्शन दण्डवत् गर्नु
का हजूरमा मेहर दयाले दर्शन ढेरै पाओ्यु.....का मेहर दया समफि बेस गरि रह्याका
 का फेरि आउदा जादा हुलाक भरिया घोडा षानामिउनाको समेत तयार गरि चिनिआका
 भारदारले बाटामा हिडि सभार सह्यार बेस गरि गर्नु बाटोमा हिड्दा सुण आनन्द पायो
 मनि रहेछ, आफुवाडोले यो कुरा सुन्दा बहुत शुसीहर्ष होला हामि ताठिन् २ ले समफि
 उनै काजिहू टाढा बाटामा हिडि आउदा दुष भयो थकाई मारि केहि दिन आहा बसाई
का इनाम बक्सीस चीज मारि पोका बनाई समेत बेस गरिगर्नु पछि यो १० मन्हाका
 दिन १३ जादा षटायाको चिनियाँका भारदार र मोटका भारदारहल्लाई आहा ल्हासा
 देशि बाटामा हिडि पुन्याउन पठाउला आफुवाडोले.....का पवर्ना इनाम बक्स्याको
 चिज लिन पाओ्यु अधिका रीत वमोजिम.....का हजूरमा अर्जिलेशि बेस गरि गर्नु अगावै
 आफुवाडोलाई यो चिठि पठाई पुग्या पछि परतुसम्म उनै काजीहू नेपालमा फर्कि आइ-
 पुगनि विन्तिकै.....का हजूरमा विन्ति गरि चह्यायाको अर्जि लेप्याको अधिका रीत वमो-
 जीम् संदुकमा बेसगरि तासाममा हाली आह्यु ल्हासा पठायाको हो हामि ताठिनले मार्फत
 गरि.....का हजूरमा विन्ति गरि अर्जि चह्याइ पठायाको रहेछ, फेरि हामि ताठिनले
 विस्तार बुफदा काजि सुरत सिंह पथहल्ले बहुत काम जान्या बाटामा हिडि बेसगरि बुफन्या
 बढिया रहेछ आफुवाडोले षटायाका मला मानिस बहुत काम जान्या बेस गरि बुफन्या
 हामि ताठिनले बहुत शुसी हर्ष भयो अब हामि ताठिनले चिन जान्या काजि सुरतसि पथ-
 हल्लाई हातमा सौपि बक्सिस दियाको आफुवाडोलाई माडोत्वाडो कुचिन थान २ तात्वान
 कुचिन थान २ पालान मन्याको कुचिन थान १ थैली जोडा ४ कुरि २ आफुवाडोले जाँचि
 लिनु होला बाहिक आफुवाडोका काज काम गन्या काजिहल्लाई बक्स्याको सबै चिज चिन
 जान्या काजि सुरतसि पथहल्लाई हातमा सौपि दि पठायाको हो, पछि सम्म.....का मेहर
 दया समफि अधी मंदा बेस गरि काम काज गन्या काजिहू साथ सिवानामा राजाहू संग
 मिलि जुलि बस्तु प्रज्रा प्राणिलाई माया गरि सुणदि राखनु यसो गन्या सदा सर्वदा जुग-
 जुग सम्म.....का मेहर दयाले सुण आनन्द हुन्या छ बाकी सदरि अहिवर्ण बस्न्यात बुढा
 भयो बेठा ढेरै छ, चिनबाट फर्कि आउदा लुडोमारि मन्याको देस पुग्दा बहुत बेठा लाग्यो
 र बहुत दुष पाइ ल्हासा आइ पुग्यापछि मेरा जिउको आराम होला मन्या सुर गरि काजी-

सँगै नेपाल जाउला भनि केहि दिन बसि उपाया गर्दा केहि नलागदा सर्दार मुक्त भयो भनि उनै काजि सुरथसँगै पथहल्ले विन्ति गरि पठायाको अर्जिको पोका १ हामि ताठिनको चिठि सँगै आफुवाड्लार्ह पठायाको छ यो चिठि नेपाल पुग्दा आफुवाड्ले विस्तार बुझ्नु होला तसर्थ यो चिठि पठायाको हो. आफुवाड्ले कुशल दाम चाहिँछ. इति तौक्काड् ० २८ सालका १० महिनाका दिन १३ जादा लहासा यामन शुभम्..... बाह्रिक सेतो कपडाको चिठिको पोका यक जाचि लिनु होला ।

लहासाका अम्बा २ ले पठायाको (काजी सुरत
सिं पन्थको मुक्तिको षावरको पत्रको उत्तर)

जुवाप

तौक्काहो २८ साल मसीर महिनाका दिन ४ जादा लेष्प्याको आफुहरूको पत्र
पौष महिनाका दिन ६ जादा आइपुग्यो अर्थ मालुम भयो. उप्रान्त काजी सुरतसिं पंथ
लहासाबाट हिडन्या वषातमा आकासचलीको बहुतै व्यथा लागी कुरा केहि नबोल्दा यो
कुरा हामि ताठिनले सुनि वैद्यहरूले रोग ठहराई ठेगाना गर्दा यस रोगको उपाय केहि
नलागदा १० मन्हाका २७ दिन जादा काजी सुरतसिं पंथ मुक्त भया. गोर्षाका रीत वमो-
जीमसंस्कार गन्या यति काम सकनि विन्तिकै काजीका छोरा र आठ पगरिहरूलाई चिनिया
भारादार मोटका भारादार गोर्षाको कुरा जान्या दोभास्या षटाई ११ महिनाका दिन
३ जादा लहासाबाट पुन्याउन पठाअ्यू अधिका रीत वमोजीम भारा भला मानीसू षटाई
केहूँ० सिवाना सम्म पर्माना लिन पठाउनु होला भन्या र आठ पगरीहरूले पर्माना इनाम
बक्सीस नेपाल पुगदा आफुवाहोले जाँचि सक्या पछि अधिका रीत वमोजीम अर्जि चाढो लेष्पि
संदुकमा हाली तासांमा आहा पठाउनु होला हामी ताठीन् मार्फत गरि.....का हजूरमा
अर्जि चढाह पठाउला भनि लेष्पानुभयाका अर्थ काजी सदाँर दुबैजाना लहासामा मुक्त भया-
कों षावर आफुहरूबाट लेष्पि आउदा हाम्रा मनमा बहुतै फिक्री भयो तापनि आफुहरू-
बाट पनि वैद्यहरू पठाई भरिसक्य उपाय गर्दा उपाय केही नलागी मुक्त भया हुन्. श्रीदेवको
इच्छा कसैले टारि टर्दैँन काजीका छोरा र आठ पगरिहरूलाई चिनिआ भारादार मोटका
भारादार षटाई ११ महिनाका दिन ३ जादा लहासाबाट विदा गरि पठाउन्या काम
बढिया मयेछ. आहाबाट पनि पर्मानाका पाव रणवारिलाई केहूँ० सिवाना सम्म अधिका
रीत वमोजीम सदाँर येक विश्नु पाध्या भारा भला मानिसलाई षटाई पठायाको छ पर्माना
नेपाल आई पुग्यो पछि सवैकुरा बुझि सक्यापछि अधिका रीत वमोजीम अर्जि लेष्पि आफुहरू
मार्फत चढाह पठाउन्या काम गरौला हाम्रा बोल विन्तिको बाटो अधीपनी लहासा बसन्त्या
अम्बाहरू हुन् आजपनि आफुहरू हुनुहुन्छ हसि सं. १९०५ सा पौष वदि ११ रोज ५ शुभम्.....

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पाचवर्षको मामुली सौगात र अर्जि चिठिहरू ठाउ ठाउमा पुन्याह काजी र सदाँर बाटोमा मर्दा अरु नीजका क्षोराहरू समेत आठपगरिहल्ले ल्यायाका पर्माना र चिठिहरूको जबाब गयाको

अर्जि

उग्रान्त आकास-समान.....का हुकमले बक्सी पठाउनु मयाको पर्माना आउह मन्था णवर आह पुगनि विन्ति के आंहाबाट सदाँर मला मानिस सिपाहि हाति घोडा नाच तमासा समेत टाढा-सम्म लिन मै.....का पर्मानालाई दंडवत् गरि धूप दीप आरति सिंदुरजात्रा गरि बढाई गरि मान मावसंग कान्तिपुर दर्बारमा ल्याई गादि सिंहासनमा राणि घुडा मारि डंडवत् गरि मज्यादा-सित पर्माना णोली दर्शन गन्यु.तौक्काड् २८ साल चैत्र महिनाका दिन ६ जादा लेणीयाका पर्मानाम्ना...को हुकुम मै आयाका कुरा मन चिन्त लगाई सुन्यु.आफु वाड्ले आफ्नु बुबाज्यूको रजाजी वकस्या देणी तिमि वाड्ले मुष्पेटले एकत्व मै पीछा शरणमा परि मावगरि लहासा बसन्था अम्बा २ का अर्ति शिप्ता वमोजीम काम गन्या देणी म णुसि हुला.आज आफु वाड्ले मनका मावसंग अर्जि सौगात चहाउन पठायाका काजी सुरत सि पंतहल्ले मेरा हजूरमा पुगि दर्शन दंडवत् गरि मेरा हजूरमा अर्जि सौगात चहाया म बहुत णुसि मजा काजी सुरतसि पंतहल्ले ढेर फेरा दर्शन पाया मोज णुवाह अनेक नाच अग्निको तमासा देणाई काजी सुरतसि पंतहरू फर्कि जादा तिमि वाड्०लाह सुनको पर्माना १ नाना रंगका कुचिन थान २४ राइरू कुचिन थान ४ शान त्वांकुचिन थान ४ आ त्वांकुचिन थान ४ चिन त्वांकुचिन थान ४ राइरू विह्वाउना ८ चाँदिका कलस २ चाँदिको बिक्रि मयाको कटौरा २ मालान्को चिज २ काँचको चीज २ दुदषान्या कटौरा जोडा २ फेरि अरु वक्सीस सिंगेसमको रूह १ माला १ सिंगेसमको चीज २ तेउहे मन्थाको चिज २ बाँसको चिज २ ठुला थैली जोडा २ साना थैली ४ चियापान्को कलस ८ फेरि मानिकको बैठकी समेत मयाको गजूर लाउनु मनि १ वकस्याको ह येति चिज वक्सी पठायाको ह ताहा पुग्दा जाँचि लिनु आफु वाड्ले मेरो मेहर समफि केहि काम हुँदा लहासा बसन्था अम्बाहरू का अर्ति शिप्ता-माफिक अधिका जस्तो गरि काम गर्नु.तलमा रहन्था प्रजा प्राणि सबैलाई अर्हाई राखनु आफ्नै आफुलाई सुष्ठा आनन्द गरि बस्न पाइन्छ जुगजुगसम्म मेरो मेहर वानगी रहला मनि मेरा उपर ठुलो दया करूणा राणि मानिकको बैठकि मयाको गजूर लाउनु मनि अर्ति शिप्ताको हुकुम आयाको र सौगात समेत काजीहरू पैचीन पुगि ५ वर्षाको मामुलि सौगात.....का हजूरमा चहाइ.....का दर्शन ढेर पल्ट पाइ दंडवत् गरि हनाम शिलत पाइ

२०२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ८, नं. २ (जुन १९८१)

विदा मै आयाको विस्तार सुंदा.....को ठुलो मेहर हो भनि म मेरो मिनिष्टर काजी
मारा भलामानिस प्रजा प्राणि सबैका मनमा हर्ष भयो.....बाट वक्सी पठाउनु भयाको
गजूर इनाम सबै आइ-पुग्यो णुसि मनसित शिर चझाह लिआ पर्वानामा वक्सीस भयाका
चीज मध्ये पोलिको चिज २ समातन्या विहू भयाको कटौरा जोडा २ मालौ भन्याको चीज
२ फटिकको चिज २ येति चिज र हाम्रा काजीहल्ले किनी ल्यायाका चीजमध्ये सिंगैसमका
कटौरा १५ पैचिनबाट फर्क्याका दिन ४ मा टुटिस्यान भन्याको जगामा चोरियेक आइ
पुगेन येहि चोरिमाका चिजको बदलामा तालोयहल्ले दि पठायाको हो भनि दो भास्या-
मासनहन्ले केरुहमा आइ चादि धोजे २ हाम्रा पैचिन जान्या पगरिहल्लाई बुफायेक र ली
आया हाम्रा अधीदेशी चली आयाका दस्तुरमा चोर पक्रिह चोरबाट माल मिल्यो भन्या
लिनु चोर पक्रियेन भन्या चोरि भयाका चिजको बदला भनि अरु मानिसबाट लिन्त्या दस्तुर
नहुनाले चोरियाका चीजको साटो मनी दियाको चांदि धोजे २ लहासाका अम्बा-मार्फत
फिर्ता गरि चझाह पठायाको ह.....का हजूरमा जाहेर होला औ पैचिन जान्या काजी
सुरतसि पंथ सदाँर अहिवर्ण बस्न्यातहल्ले पर्वाना लि आउन्या दस्तुर हो येस पटक लहासा
सम्म आइ बेराम मै आफूना कालगतिले काजि सदाँर दुबै जना भन्याको विस्तार लहासा
का अम्बाबाट.....का हजूरमा जाहेर होला मेरा अर्थ र अधि हाम्रा पुर्णाहू पनि.....
का पिछा शरणमा परि भानी रह्याका हुन् आजपनि हामि मुष्ण पेटले एकत्व मै लहासा
बसन्त्या अम्बाहूका अर्ति-वमोजीम.....लाई भानी रह्याका हौ हाम्रा भन्याका दुष्णददको
बिन्ति गन्या बाटो अधि पनि लहासामा बस्न्या अम्बाहू हुन् आजपनि लहासा बस्न्या
अम्बाहूबाट.....का हजूरमा जाहेर मै हाम्रो दुष्णदद कुट्ला र सुष्णी मै.....को टहल
गरि रिफाई जुग-जुगसम्म सरिया रहुला भन्या मनमा अमिलाषा राष्याको ह टाढा
मुलुकमा बसि टहल गन्या दस्तुर नजान्या मैले चझाह पठायाका अर्जिमा घटि-बढि भन्याको
.....ले दामावत हुनु मै करुणा मेहर रह्या मेरो उद्धार हुन्याहू.इति सम्बत् १९०५ साल
मिति फागुन सुदि १३ रोज ४ मुकाम कान्तिपुर शुभम्

पत्रचिन्ह तास थान १ के तोला

(अर्जि फिर्ता मै आयो मनी फट्केमा लेसिएको ह)

श्री ५ वादशाह १ श्री ५ गोर्णा सर्कार २

पैचीन जान्या आठ पगरिहल्का जमानबंदी मुचुल्का लेणी ल्हासा अम्बा हेउ पठायाकाको नवकल

लिणित सुवेदार अमरधोज पंथ संतवीर बस्न्यात मक्तवीर अधिकारि हर्ण बहादुर पंत उजिर-
सिं बस्न्यात् हंबीर पंत ह्वसिं षाडका षारिदार रंगलाल पाध्या जमादार गंभीर पंत इन्द्र-
वीर रामनरसिं जोरावरसिं नायक तिणुलसिं आगे पैचिन.....को दर्सन डंडवत गरि विदा
मै सक्या पक्षि संवत् १६०४ साल चैत्र शुदि ६ रोज १ का दिन पैचिनदेणी हिडी ल्यास्या
स्यान्मा वस्यौ ल्यास्यांस्यान्देति टौटुमा वस्यौ टौटुदेणि येणोमा वस्यौ इ ३ वास नापी
चैत्र शुदि ६ रोज ४ का दिन डाटिस्यान् मन्याका गाउमा वास गन्यौ षाच्चरले बोक्याका
मारि लोमु मन्याका षाच्चरका मालीकका डेरामा रह्थ्या मेन्याडू मन्याका मानीसले
पिठ्ठिमा बोक्याका मारि नायेक तिणुलसिका डेरामा ल्याह दाणिल गध्या डाटि-
स्यान्बाट मेन्याडूका जिम्मा गरि बोकाह बिहान हिडायाका मेन्याडूका मारिमध्ये
फटिकका मुर्ति २ मालौहि ठाडो दुइ मुष्या गुलाफि १ वैठक वाला ठाडा कटौरा २
पोलेहि कांचका वेला २ येति...बाट वक्सीस मयाको चिज २ षारिद गन्याको सिंगि
सनका कटौरा १५ हात्याको२.....को ४ लवरको गम् १ चैत्र शुदि १० रोज का दिन
व्यालुका पाउचिन्फुमा नायेक तिणुलसिका डेरामा दाणिल गन्यान् २ मारि आयेन मनि
दोमास्या मासन् इन्लीको स्यान्लाई नायेक तिणुलसिले मंदा हामीले दिउसो चिया आया-
का जगासम्म आयाको थियो, हराउन्त्या कैन, आइपुग्ह मनी दोमास्या लिकोस्यान्ले जवाप
दियो मोलि बिहानसम्म पनि आयेन र पाउचिन्फुमा मुकाम गरि तुंदु अम्बासंग भेट गरि
बिन्ति गरौं आहा मिल्दु मन्या आहि षोज गरि देउ षारिद गह्रौं आहा मिल्दैन मन्या
पेचिन ४ दीनको वाटो ह.हाम्रा मानीस तम्रा मानिस पेचिन पठाउं चादि हामि दिक्छौं
हरायाको मालको साटो उस्तै माल षारिद गरि ल्याउनु पेचिनका मारादारलाई तालो
येहल्ले लेणि पठाइदिया.....१.....बाट वक्स्याका चिजको पनि साटो आई पुग्या
बढिया होला मनि काजि सर्दारले सेतालोय केतालोय दोमास्या मासन् इन्लीकोस्यां चा-
जनालाई मन्दा आहाका मारादार.....१.....का सवारिलाई पेचिन गयाहन् आहा
कोहि कैन् हाभिबाट डाटिस्यान्का फाफुलाई लेणी पठाउछौं हाम्रा सिपाहि घोडा
चढाइ पठान्यू मारि हराउन्त्या कैन आइ पुग्ह आहा बसनु पर्दैन मनि चारै जनाले जुवाव
दिया र चैत्र सुदि ११ रोज ६ का दिन पाउचिन्फुदेणी उठ्यौ व्यालुका घान्ठिस्यान्मा
मारि आइपुगेन षोज गर्न गयाका सिपाहिले ल्यायान् र घान्ठिस्यान्मा मुकाम गरि
मारिको षोज गरि उठौला मनि काजी सर्दार अडिदा आहा घोडा अच्चर मानिसलाई
घास अन्न पानिले पुग्दैन ठुला गाउमा मुकाम गरौला मनि हिडाया- धुनुहुस्यान्मा वास

वस्यौ चैत्र सुदि १३ रोज का दिन मुकाम गरि षाच्चरले बोक्काको मारि मेन्याडका मारि सबै जांच बुफ गदा हरायाको मारि मिलेन र उसको जोडा अर्को मारि षोली से तालोय र दोभास्यालाई बिजक देखाइ येसभारिको माल जांचि हेरि.....१.....बाट वक्सीस मयाका चिज मध्ये हरायाका चिजको र षारिद गन्याका माल मध्ये हरायाको मालका मारिको बिजक देखाउदा सेतालोयेका अगाडी दोभास्या मासन् इन्ले बिजक लेषी लियो. येहि बिजक वमोजीम जगा जगाका फाफुलाई लेषि पठाउछौं माल हराउन्या कैन हिंदु-फुका चुन्दु बाट बाटोमा ढिल नगरि चाडो आउ मन्या चिठि आयो हामिले सरासर जानु-पह्रै माल हराउन्या कैन मनि १ दिनमात्र मुकाम गरि सेतालोय केतालोयहल्ले हिडाया. १९०५ साल वैसाख सुदि १५ रोज ५ का दिन सिगाफु आई पुग्यापछि पनि मारि आइपुगेन र सिगाफुका चुदुसंग भेट गरि हरायाको मालको विन्ति गर्नुपह्रै हाम्रा चिठि.....२.....लाई हिडाइदेउ मनि दुवै तालोयसंग भंदा हामिले चुदुसंग विन्ति गन्या चिठि पनि तिम्हेरु भंदा चाडो हिंदुन्या कैन बाटोमा संग-सँग हुन्याक आहाबाट रमाना गन्या दस्तुर पनि कैन हिंदुफुबाट चिठि रमाना गराउनु मनि चुदुको आग्या मयो. भेट गर्नुपदैन मन्या जवाव सेता-लोय केताल्वकले दिया चुदुसंग भेट गरायानन् हरायाका चिज जस्तो चिज सिगाफुमा षोजि देउ जति मोल मन्या पनि षरिद गरि लि जाँछौं भंदा षोज गरि दिन सक्थानन् हिंदुफु आइपुगन्या वेलांमा २।४ दिन अघि सेतालोय पछि बस्यो केतालोय हाम्रा साथमा आयो आषाढ वदि २ रोज १ का दिन हिंदुफु आई पुगि चुदुसंग भेट गरि काजी सदाँरले चुदुसंग हरायाका मालको विन्ति गदाँ म लेषी पठाउछौं मनि चुदुले जुवाव दिया तालोय २ जना-माथि रिसाया क्न् र सेतालोय आइ पुग्या पछि यो माल हरायाको हामि तालोयलाई दोष लाग्यो. हाम्रा गजूर कल्कि पनि फिकिदिया मनि आफुले लायाका टोप दुवै तालोयले देखाया साटो चादि बुफि-देउ तिमि काजी सदाँरले केमा नराष्या हाम्रो जिय रहन्या कैन मनि दुवै तालोयले भंदा हामि चादि बुफदैन हाम्रो माल पठाइ दिया मनि काजी सदाँरले ज्वाप दिया हिंदुफुबाट हिंदुयाका दिन सदाँर अघि हिंदुयाका थिया. काजी पछि-बाट हिंदुदा सेतालोय बाटोमा बसि रह्याको रहेक, काजीसंग भेट गरि हरायाको माल ल्हासासम्म अवस्य आइ पुगला मेरा मारि मेरो सालोका जिम्मा क्न् सम्भार गरि लैगि देउ, यस पाला मैले जानपात्रीन पछिबाट क्क्यादोसम्म भेटाउँला दोभास्या मासन इन् लीको-स्याका हात चादि पठायाको क्क, बुफि दिया मनि सेतालोयले भंदा तम्रा मारिको सम्भार गरि दिउला हरायाका मालको साटो चादि बुफन्या कैन मनि काजीले ज्वाप दि आया ल्हासासम्म पनि सेतालोय आइपुगेन कार्तिक वदि ४ रोज २ का दिन हामि ल्हासा आइ पुग्या पछि ल्हासाका बडा अम्बासंग भेट गदाँ.....२.....को हरायाको माल र अरु पगरि सिपाहिको जगा जगामा हरायाको माल सबै तप्सील उतारी कागतमा लेषि काजिले बडा अम्बासंगबित्ति गदाँ यो हरायाको सबै माल लेषि जगा जगामा पठाउछौं यस्तो गरि

माल हराउन लाग्यो मन्था सदा सर्वदा कस्ता रितले जानु आउन गरीला मनि बडा अम्बा
 ले ज्वाप गरि कागत लियाथ्या ५ दीन पक्कि तिम्हेहल्ले चढायाको कागत अर्को कागतमा
 लेणी बडा अम्बाले लिया. तिम्हेहल्लको कागतलेउ मनि दोमास्या मासन् इन् लिकोस्याले
 हाप्रा कागत फिराइ दिया. ताहापक्कि काजी सदाँर मन्थापक्कि तालोयहल्ले पठाइ दियाको
 चादि बुफि देउ मनि हामि पगरिहल्लाई दोमास्या मासन् लिकोस्याले मदा चादि नबुफि
 लहासा देणी आन्थू. दोमास्या लिको स्या लहासामा बस्यो मासन् इन् हाम्रा साथमा आयो.
 डिगर्चामा आइ पुग्यापक्कि पनि चादि बुफि देउ मनि मासन् इन्ले साई पैला गन्थो. फुगमा
 आइ पुग्यापक्कि पनि बुफि देउ मनि पैला गन्थो. केह आयापक्कि साई पैला गन्थो र तिमिले
 साई टिपि गन्थौ ता यो चादि बुफि लिहौ.....२.....मा चढाइ दिउला माल हराया-
 को दिन देणीको व्यहोरा विस्तार बिन्ति गरीला र.....२..... बाट जो हुकुम वक्सनु
 होला सो जवाव आउला मन्था कुरा गरि माल हरायादेणीको व्यहोरा विस्तार बिन्ति गरि
 तिम्हेहल्ले चढाइ पठायाको व्यकुपि वक्साउनी.....२.....मा चढाइला र जो हुकुम होला
 मन्था व्यहोराको कागज लेणी मासन इनका हातमा दि हामि ८ पगरि ६ पगरिले चादि
 धोजे २ केहमा बुफि लियाको हो. ठठाटिस्यान् गाउदेणी केहंतक मयाको व्यहोरा यतिकै
 हो. यो व्यहोरा हामिले ढाट्याको ठहन्थो मन्था.....२.....बाट हाम्रा जियको र
 धनको थुस गर्नु मनि आफुमा थुसि राजिसंग जवानबंदि मुचुल्का लेणि.....२.....मा
 चढाएन्थू इति सम्मत १६०६ साल वैशाख शुदि १० रोज ४ शुभम्.....

विद्रोह दबाउन दश हजार फौजसाथ
जंगबहादुरलाई चीन पठाउने आशयले
लेखेको अर्जिको अंश

(१९१०)

बाकि ऐस पटक पैचिन् श्री ५ वादसाहका हजुरमा अर्जि सौगात चझाउन्या ज्दा(?) जान्या सुब्बा मीमसेन रानाले हामीलाई लेष्याका अर्जिमा अधिदेणि श्री ५ वादसाहलाई मानि-
रहन्याले श्री ५ वादसाह संग कुलगरि लइन लाग्याको रहेक मंन्या णवर बींती गरि पठाउदा
हामी र हाम्रा मुष्य वजिर श्रीमद्राजकुमार कुमारत्तमज श्री कम्माडर इन चीफ् जनरल जंग-
बहादुर कुवर राणाजीका मनमा बहुत ठुलो फौक्री लाग्यो यो णवर सुन्यापहि श्री ५
वादसाहका सरन पीछा परि मानी रह्याका हामीहल्ले यस वणत्मा पुग्यासम्मको मदत
लहल गर्नु हाम्रा धर्म हो यस निमीच हाम्रो मुष्य वजिर र १० हजार सीपाही चालिस तोप
गोलि हान्न जान्या स धियाका सीपालू येस्ता येती फौजले येक लाण फौजसंग लइन
सकन्याह् येतिलाई चाहिन्या बारूद गोली गीराफ गोला पनि आहीबाट जान्याह् श्री ५
वादसाहबाट आहा लडाओ गर्नु मंन्या हुकुम् वक्सनु होला श्री ५ वादसाहको हुकुम् सीर
चझाह श्री ५ वादसाहको हुकुम् वमोजीम् उसै जगामा लइन्याह् जस् दिन् फर्कि जाउमन्या
हुकुम् होला उसै घरि फर्कि हाम्रा मुलुकमा आउनु ई सीपाहीका बेहान बेलुकालाई णाना
णार्चके मैन्हा १ को पाच रूपैयाका दरले मत्ता णर्च र सीपाही (लाई पकाई) णान्या माडा
सुतन्या वीक्ष्याउन्या समेट लहन्या सराजाम् बोकन्या २५ हजारको अंदाजा भरिया चाहि-
न्याह्. येति कुराको श्री ५ वादसाहबाट मेहेर भयो मन्या कुल गन्यासंग लडाओ गर्नलाई
हाम्रा वजिर फौज जाहाबाट पठाईह्, हामीसंग दौलथ कम् ह् दौलथको मेहेर भया यस्तै
लहन सकन्या फौज तयार हुन्याह्, आफुहल्ले तल माथि पर्न गयाको बिहोरा सच्याह
हाम्रा उपर दया राणि यो अर्जि श्री ५ वादसाहका हजुरमा चझाह पठाउन्या काम् गर्नु
भयाबढिया होला. मामुली बाहिक् अरु कुराको अर्जि चझाह पठाउन्या दस्तुर कैन मंन्या
आफुहल्लका चीत्तमा सका पर्ला येस्तो णवर पनि आजसम्म सुनियाको थियेन यो णवर
सुनियापहि हामीले श्री ५ वादसाहका हजुरमा चझाह पठाउन्या काम् गर्नु भया बढिया
होला हाम्रो बोल बिंतीको बाटो अधि पनि लहासा बस्न्या अबाहरु हुन् आज पनि आफु-
हरु हुनुहुक, इति सम्बत् १९१० साल माघ वदि २ रोज २ शुभम्.....

Book Review

Makhan Jha: The Sacred Complex in Janakpur

The Sacred Complex in Janakpur. (Indological, Sociological, Anthropological and Philosophical Study of Hindu Civilization). 1971. Makhan Jha. 152 pages, Photographs, Appendix: I to VI, Glossary. United Publishers. Allahabad, India. ICRs. 39/-.

I have read Mr. Makhan Jha's book entitled The Sacred Complex in Janakpur with great interest. It begins with a 12 page introduction highlighting the importance of social anthropology as well as the significance of study of civilization. Jha has tried to trace its origin and development, various symbols and their integrative character etc. He has also made a few references to the social scientists of the twentieth century who have studied Hinduism and its relation with the caste system. He has also claimed that his study rests mainly upon fieldwork done in Janakpur. In addition to intensive fieldwork, he has also consulted literary works, scriptures, hand books, religious texts and mythology regarding Janakpur.

The present book under review is divided into four parts which, in turn, are divided into nine chapters. In the first part there are three chapters. The writer has given a detailed description of the location of sacred centres like Dhanukha in Nepal and Girijasthan in India. He has also marked the religious significance of the sacred Kshetra which is characterised by a large number of temples, Kutis, ponds, Kundas, shrines and other ritual functionaries but he has not thrown sufficient light on the secular Kshetra like Kishoriji-kesthan (place of Kishori), Janakji-ke-darbar (court), Janakiji-ke-rejdhani (capital), Ramji-ke-sasural (marriage place) etc. He has just written the names of the above mentioned secular places. The writer has also failed to point out different symbolic expressions of gods and goddesses like Rama, Sita, Lakshmana, Dashratha, Janaka etc. through images of rivers, tanks, trees, stones, engravings etc. He has himself written, "For example in almost all temples, Rama, Sita, Lakshmana, Dashratha, Janaka etc. are represented through images which are installed in the temples" (p. 18). He has only explained symbolic representation of Hanuman, Siva and

Rajeshwari Devi. He has not only thrown light on sacred centres but also on sacred cluster and sacred segment. He has also tried to classify the different deities according to their importance. He has also determined the order or "hierarchy" of worship the word used by (T.R. Singh). Here again the writer has only mentioned the order of worship in the Rama temple cluster but has forgotten to mention the 'order of worship' in the Janaki temple cluster. We all know that the order of worship in both temples is not the same. He has also opined on the classification of different deities on the basis of 'food offerings' called as Naivedya or Prasad and on the basis of the Vrat (ritual fasting). He is also of opinion that different deities have status in the Hindu Universe.

The chapter 2 outlines the origin of Janakpur and Videha mythologically and legendarily. The writer has used sufficient materials of the mythology and various legends mentioned in the 'Mithila Mahatma' of the Brihad Vishnu Purana, the Vishnu Purana, the Ramayana and other religious scriptures and books. Some of the mythological stories are very interesting. Pilgrims who have not visited Janakpur would be curious to do so in the future after listening to these mythological stories. In the words of the writer, "These mythological accounts as also depicted in the epic, the smriti, the puranas etc. are the main source of inspiration, to the Hindu pilgrims in general and Maithil pilgrims in particular" (p. 29). Here the writer is quite correct to say so. It is also very helpful for universalisation and popularisation of a sacred Kshetra like Janakpur.

The writer has explained the transformation of various sacred centres. He has presented a comparative study of the present sacred centres and ancient sacred centres of Janakpur on the basis of sacred literature. He has given a good description of the ancient Kingdom. He has glorified the beautiful Rajmahal of King Sirdhwaj Janaka which is found in Janakpur, an ancient Kingdom of Mithila. He has also mentioned the boundary of ancient capital Janakpur according to Parasarji.

The writer has given many indications about the complete disappearance of the palaces of ancient times. This information may be helpful for the excavation and exploration of many important places and palaces which are extinct now. To support my saying I quote the following lines of the writer:

"The swarna-mandap (or Marwa) which has been vividly described in Mithila Mahatma may be located today towards the north-west of the Janaki temple, of course, in a ruined form" (p. 33).

We should be highly obliged to the writer for this kind of information and indication which is very essential from the point of view of excavation of these monuments. The writer has also given the list of ancient sacred Kutis, ponds and Kundas. He has also thrown light on the origin of modern Janakpur. He opined that some folk-shrines have been immensely influenced by some major sacred centres and here he is fully right. He has also thrown light on the patronage of the sacred centres but he has mistakenly called Ram Sarup Sahu an Indian. Actually he is a Nepali citizen. Here the writer also presents a comparative study of the Mahanthas of Pacharhi and Janakpur, respectively.

The second part of this book deals with the sacred performances, performed in Janakpur daily. The writer has concentrated not only on the pilgrimage and the pilgrims of Janakpur but he has also mentioned some places of pilgrimage of India and Nepal. He has focussed on the importance of pilgrimage for the pilgrims and explained how Janakpur has been a famous place of pilgrimage for the Hindus of the world since ancient times. The writer has committed a mistake while mentioning the name of His Late Majesty The King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev in the chapter four (p. 47). The chapter five outlines the main importance of fairs and festivals of Janakpur like Rama Navami (birth anniversary of Rama), Vivaha Panchami (marriage ceremony of Rama and Sita), Janaki Navami (birth anniversary of Sita), Parikrama (holy circumambulation), Mas (to stay for a month and worship continuously), Guru Purnima (worship of spiritual teacher), Jhulan (swinging festival), etc. The writer has collected authentic information with the help of many informants. This chapter is worth-reading but nobody can agree with the writer's following view, "Some other rituals like chhatha, chaurchand, devothan, nagpanchmi seem to have been borrowed from the Maithil Brahmans of Bihar" (p. 65).

These above-mentioned rituals are very popular and age-old in Janakpur and the surrounding areas of Nepal. These are not borrowed from Bihar at all.

Chapter six discusses the ethnographic details of the daily sacred performances and some of the broad concepts of the daily rituals. Here the writer has thrown sufficient light on the Arti which is performed regularly and punctually in each and every temple of Janakpur. He has also mentioned in detail the everlasting Samkirtan known as the 'Akhand Sita-Rama Nama Samkirtan Mahayajna' organised by Shri Hanuman Maharaj'ji.

There are two chapters in part three of this book. The writer describes sacred specialists like Mahantha, priests, temple pandits, palmists, devotional singers, reciters, musicians, barbers and other sacred specialists like Mali (a florist caste) along with the functions, activities and duties of the Guthisamsthana very vividly. Chapter seven deals with the sacred specialists only. The writer has described the daily routine, life-style and standard of living of Mahanthas of temples of Janakpur in detail. It shows that he has all information regarding these Mahanthas. The authenticity of his information has been increased by interviewing these Mahanthas. He has also compared and contrasted the life-style of the Mahanthas of the Janaki temple and the Rama temple adequately. The writer has also given the lists of temple servants and their castes in the form of tables.

Chapter seven focusses on the organisation, functions and activities of the Guthisamsthana. Now all the temples of Janakpur are under it except the Janaki temple. This chapter also deals with the petty politics which is played in the Guthisamsthana but the writer has marked that the attitude of the pilgrims has remained unchanged in spite of this politics. It also indicates that the writer has also studied the mind of the pilgrims psychologically and sociologically in detail. He has presented recent changes among the community of ascetics. Nowadays many culprits have come and corrupted the pious attitude of both the ascetics and pilgrims. Being an anthropologist, the writer has produced a very interesting and useful study of these converted ascetics who are very dangerous to our society.

The writer has also quoted the version of his important informant like Pundit Jibnath Jha and Swami Abodh Kishore Das, who have narrated their own experience of 1949-50 when they were threatened by some of the such ascetics. We can take advantage of this information and can reform the community of ascetics in time.

Chapter eight of this book deals with the writer's own conclusion. It also includes photographs, appendices and bibliography. The writer has summarised the findings of the preceding eight chapters of his Ph.D. thesis in brief. The writer's decision is very remarkable and it is a universal truth, "The boundary of a nation is not the boundary of a civilization." We can easily agree with the writer that civilization has a great historic depth and territorial extension.

It is a fact that a Ph.D. thesis has its own limitations and a researcher cannot go beyond its limitations. Still the

present book gives much more authentic material on Janakpur. The writer has tried his best to furnish the readers with suitable and appropriate information regarding Janakpur. In my view if the writer would have given information of folk-lore, folk-songs and folk-deities then the present book would have become more useful and worth-reading for readers. The maxim that folk-songs are the autobiography of a person, is not a trite cliché, but a reality. Even then Mr. Makhan Jha deserves thanks because first of all he has provided sufficient materials regarding Janakpur for the foreign writers and readers.

In the last the writer has introduced oral tradition in the present book which makes this book more reliable and readable. The style of the writer is appreciable and understandable.

— R.D. Rakesh

Book Review

Cultural Heritage of Mithila. 1979. Vijayakant Mishra.
XIX, 416 pages, and plates XXIV. Mithila Prakasana. Allahabad,
India. IC Rs. 200/-.

The book under review (henceforth CHM) is divided into three parts. Part One consists of four chapters. Part Two consists of five chapters, and Part Three consists of three chapters.

Chapter I discusses in brief the origins of three rather well-known names of Mithila (e.g. Videha, Mithila, and Tirabhukti), and points to the references made to Mithila in various epics, Purāṇas, and Buddhist texts.

Chapter II is divided into two sections. Section 1 presents an account of the prehistoric Videhan monarchy and the so-called Aryanization of Mithila. Section 2 discusses the rise of the Vajjian confederacy in Mithila and presents brief accounts of Licchavi, Gupta, Pala and Śeṇa rule over Mithila. Unfortunately, the account is gravely marred by lack of organization and is rendered opaque by indiscriminate references to copious texts and quotations.

Chapter III deals with the political history of Mithila. It is also divided into two sections. Section 1 presents an account of the rule of the Karmāṭa dynasty in Mithila, while section 2 discusses the rule of the Oinivāra dynasty in Mithila.

Chapter IV describes the House of the Khaṇḍavalākula rulers of Mithila.

Chapter V is divided into two sections. Section 1 discusses the religious customs and practices prevalent in Mithila in a rather monotonous, repetitive and platitudinous manner. Section 2 deals with the three main schools of philosophy as practised in Mithila, e.g. Nyāya, Navya-Nyāya, and Mīmāṃsa.

Chapter VI is also divided into two sections. Section 1 provides a cursory sketch of the Maithil scholars' predilection toward classical learning and refers to their contributions in

the fields of grammar, lexicography, poetics, metrics, erotics, and polity made through the medium of Sanskrit. Section 2 deals with the development of the Maithili literature with special reference to such early works as the caryāpadas (circa 800-1100 A.D.), the Vaṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara (14th century A.D.), and the works of the greatest Maithili poet, Vidyāpati (1360-1448 A.D.) and those of a few of his contemporaries.

Chapter VII deals with palaeography in Mithila. It is divided into two sections. Section 1 deals with the development of the Maithili script, called Mithilākṣara, and discusses some of its salient characteristics. Section 2 lists a few important inscriptions found in North Bihar: these inscriptions generally use Mithilākṣara characters but are in Sanskrit.

Chapter VIII deals with fine arts. It too is divided into two sections. Section 1 discusses the growth of the Mithila 'school' of music since antiquity, and traces the abiding influence of the karṇāṭaka musical tradition on it. Section 2 traces the growth of the art of the Aipana or Aripana (women's art) in Mithila and discusses the copious references made to it in numerous ancient as well as modern Sanskrit texts.

Chapter IX is also divided into two sections. Section 1 is devoted to a discussion of medieval architecture in Mithila and discusses such topics as the palace, chaupali, gambling house, kaṭaka (military camp) -- all based on the information provided in the Vaṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara, and the temple architecture and temple types. Section 2 discusses the medieval sculptures of Mithila depicting the cults of Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism, and Śāktism. Some of the main sculptures (e.g. the figures of Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Sakti- especially Cāmuṇḍa, Maheśvarī, Tārā, Mahiṣāsūramardani, Śivaparvatī, Rudra, Brahmā, Buddha, and Gaṅgā and Jamunā) found in Mithila in general and the district of Madhubani in particular are described in detail with great accuracy. Various architectural members (e.g. Pillars, door frames, doorjambs, lintel, gorgyle) are also described in this section.

Chapter X deals with the people of Mithila. However, in a 26 page chapter, 21 pages are devoted to a discussion of the Brāhmaṇa caste, while only 2 pages are devoted to the other castes of Mithila.

Chapter XI deals with the Mithila 'school' of law. It is divided into two sections. Section 1 discusses the sources of the Mithila 'school' of law and refers to such works as the Vivādacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati II, Vivādaratnākara of Candēśvara, Madan Parijata kalpataru of Lakṣmidhara, and the Vivādacandra of Misaru Miśra. A brief note on the biography and main works

of a few of the noted nibandhakāras (i.e., digest writers) is also provided in this section. Section 2 discusses the salient features of the Mithila 'school' of law, and dwells rather surreptitiously on such topics as marriage, adoption, minority and guardianship, partition, reunion, inheritance, stridhana (female property), and so on.

Chapter XII deals with an assortment of topics, i.e., peasant life, food and drink, festivals, betel leaf industry, coronation of the king, administrative organization, ascetic and his asrama (living place), pilgrimage to holy places, dress and manners, industry, metal works, coinage, flora and fauna, folk painting and other miscellaneous items. Much of the information is derived from the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara.

The overambitiousness of CHM turns out to be both its virtue and its vice. As an attempt to do no less than explain the entire culture of Mithala, CHM represents the most comprehensive study so far available on this topic. Though praiseworthy in its concept, this study is nevertheless disappointingly inept in many aspects of its execution--presumably because the author did not take time to give careful treatment to each and every topic he felt obliged to include.

CHM may in fact be described as a perfect specimen of sloppy research. The sloppiness of research is reflected in innumerable grammatical and structural errors, inefficient organization of material, poor editing, and in the incredible lack of attention to certain technical matters (e.g. lack of proper citation, typographical errors, lack of correspondence between footnote numbers and between footnote numbers and their pages, indiscriminate use of single and double inverted commas, callous disregard for the sources of quotations, profuse use of vernacular words without italicizing or underlining or translating them, lack of translations of most quoted Sanskrit and other texts, incomplete bibliography with no information on place, press and date of publication of books and journals, - to name only a few). What is disquieting and even frustrating is that such inadequacies characterize CHM throughout.

CHM thus stands far short of a reliable research tool for students of Mithila. It is sad to have to render such a verdict considering that CHM represents the sum of a lifetime's effort. But even a magnum opus need not be an opus laudibile.